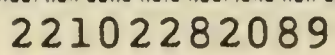


THE MALTHUSIAN LIMIT

EDWARD ISAACSON

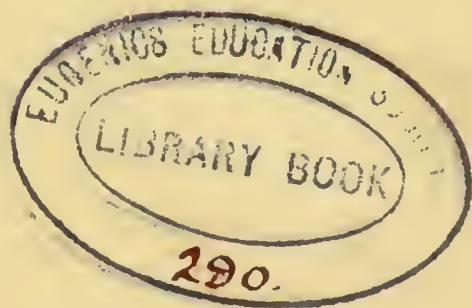


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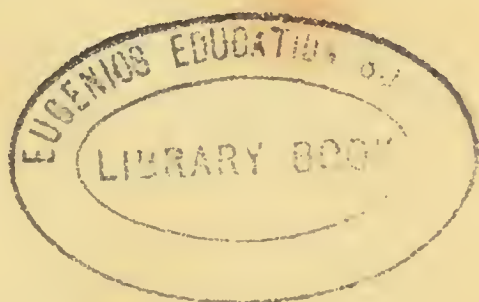
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THE MALTHUSIAN LIMIT

THE MALTHUSIAN LIMIT

A THEORY OF
A POSSIBLE STATIC CONDITION
FOR THE HUMAN RACE

BY
EDWARD ISAACSON



WITH THIRTY DIAGRAMS

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PREFACE

HANSEN's theory of the *Bevölkerungsstrom*, or population current, is in sociology what the theory of the circulation of the blood is in medicine. This book owes much to him. My earlier data have been drawn largely from American conditions; the differences between them and those in Germany, which Dr. Hansen knows best, led me to my first new idea—that the nearness or remoteness of the Malthusian limit is the key to these differences in conditions.

This brought me to the theoretical consideration of a static condition, and the generalization of a two-class system, which covers Hansen's three classes in a different perspective, and seems the logical extreme. This gives a long-needed division of the troublesome question as to whether the family or the individual is the unit of society. Provide recognition for both, in distinct classes necessitated by understood conditions, and the whole social organism seems simplified.

As the book grew, it appeared that the keynote to the forces and movements involved in the discussion is not economic, but pedagogical ; it is what Solomon and Socrates and Confucius have all told us : that wisdom is better than riches. In other words, what makes a fecund class is not the possession of land, but the intelligence which enables them to get and hold control of the first condition of existence—food supply ; and the permanence of the land-holding class is due to the educative influence of their mode of life, which automatically makes abler men of them than life in the cities does. The same pedagogical key—conditions which make automatically one environment or mode of life contribute more to intelligence and will-power than another, appears in other lines of thought in the book.

If I had had more time and opportunity, I should have verified quantitatively many of the data which I have used in a general way. It makes, however, no difference with the main theses if the facts differ by centuries or millions of square miles from the estimates I have used, which are in all cases the best accessible to me. The quantitative facts in many cases are not known accurately to any one. Many of the

straight lines in the diagrams are generalizations of curves which could be actually plotted if statistics were available.

I have no desire to initiate any propaganda in favour of the establishment of a system of society different from the present one ; I have simply taken up what seems to be an actual tendency in the normal course of evolution, and thought it out to the logical extreme. It has thrown much light for me upon many of the puzzling questions of the day, and I hope it may do the same for others. If new arguments can be drawn from the book in favour of such recognized salutary measures as the " Back to the land " movement and efforts for world peace, and against over-hasty Socialism and indiscriminate charity, I shall be glad to have contributed my mite to the work of human progress.

E. I.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
Rapid increase in the numbers of the human race ; due to increased facilities of transportation—Possible full population of the earth before A.D. 2200—Possible delay by increased production of food, but Malthusian limit inevitable in time—Rapid occupation of new countries—Problem of static condition must be met	xxi

CHAPTER I

POPULAR OPINION OF CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE

City population recruited from the country—Vices in cities ; soundness of country life basis of national prosperity—Cities important for higher successes—Fruition stage of society ; growth stage in country—City has produced great men, but generally of patrician stock—Country-bred on the whole more successful	I
---	---

CHAPTER II

ADVANTAGES OF COUNTRY LIFE : THE YEOMAN

Yeoman taken as the best type of country life—Farm work done by farmer and sons, household work by wife and daughters—Sound physical condition the result—Surroundings less favourable to disease than in cities—Mental qualities ; habits of observation ; manual training—Moral qualities : training of the will by steady application—School opportunities of country children fit them for city as well as country life ; those of city children do not fit them for country life and they have nothing which does ; therefore they cannot succeed in country—City-bred persons seldom go to country to earn their living	4
---	---

CHAPTER III

CITY CONDITIONS : THE PATRICIAN

Country-bred persons lack knowledge of city conditions at first—Advantages which country children have can be obtained by city children, but at great relative expense—City persons having had such advantages often better adapted to succeed in cities, but not for propagation of the race—Inherited wealth necessary to keep a city family at a high standard—Patrician class recognized very generally by society in history, because it has turned out able men ; “*noblesse oblige*”—If wealth fails, family must die out or fall into a lower class 9

CHAPTER IV

THE PROLETARIAN

Expenses of living greater in the city than in the country—Impossible for lower classes to bring up children successfully in city ; proper opportunities for work and play lacking ; work which children must do, if any, not suitable for them—Impossible for such children to become farmers ; they must remain in city, and steadily deteriorate in successive generations 13

CHAPTER V

THE MOVEMENT FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

Difficulty in defining types : differences in farming population ; landed aristocracy compared with yeoman ; higher and lower classes in cities—Tendency to increased costliness of standards of living—“ Race suicide ” in patrician class—“ Three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves ” ; different meaning of the two sets of shirt-sleeves—Elimination of the unfit in proletarian class—“ The submerged tenth ”—Summing up : (1) Country tends to produce more capable men, except in the patrician class ; (2) Expense of bringing up children much less in country than in city. (3) Country-bred people can succeed in city ; city-bred people cannot succeed in country—Current of population under theoretical simple conditions—Actual conditions more complex, but the law still obtains 15

CONTENTS

xiii

PAGE

CHAPTER VI

SURPLUS CLASS

Law of Malthus broadly founded on facts—Surplus class always in existence, even in a stationary population—Fecund class related to society as members of family ; surplus class as individuals only—Rights and duties of the two classes accordingly different—Old moral codes designed for the fecund class only—Surplus can be governed by such codes if not too numerous—If surplus is in considerable numbers old code works badly—Such conditions in great cities at present ; such cities a new social phenomenon—Diseases, wars, and famines less fatal than formerly—Improved agriculture employs a smaller proportion of people—Surplus class likely to increase in future—Surplus class more mobile than formerly, while agricultural class must be stable ; difference thereby accentuated—Necessary to consider carefully problems of surplus class—old morality founded on unlimited expansion of population—If limit of subsistence is approached, elimination of surplus takes place ; how shall this be done with least waste and suffering ? . . . 22

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Economy of the beehive : populated from the minimum number of individuals, surplus of the weaker sex eliminated, surplus of the stronger sex made neutral and performs all the duties except those of the queen bee—If human society were organized on analogous principle ten per cent of the women, and less than one per cent of the men, could keep up the numbers of the race—With family conditions as at present, one-third or less of the population will keep up the numbers—Importance of problem of surplus—Analogy of the forest—Possibilities of regulation 26

CHAPTER VIII

THEORY OF THE FECUND CLASS

Rights and duties of members of the class—Majority of the product of the class in men goes to the surplus—All in-

dividuals in any way inferior should be placed in the surplus at once—Hopeless individuals eliminated or unsexed—Mental and moral qualities for members of the class. *Integer vitæ* the ideal; no vices permissible—Conditions for the production of best human stock—Diversified farming best; wholesale work of any kind detrimental; factory life worst of all—Industrial production not a disadvantage if done under proper conditions—Too sparse a population disadvantageous; grouping of dwellings advisable; gives better opportunities for co-operation and social intercourse—Number of families to be kept invariable. Cities would have a purely adult population; no proletariat, and no patrician class unless special provision is made; such special provision would require some of the industrial work to be done by the fecund class; patricians brought up among the professional classes in the country, etc.—Difficulties of adjusting wages to family demands obviated if the fecund class have a monopoly of food supplies 32

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SURPLUS CLASS

With room for expansion, surplus is inconspicuous among fecund class, and must be governed by economic and moral code of that class, which holds that it is normal for all to have children—Pressure of population leads to lower wages and increase of celibacy—Individuals of the surplus must be treated as human beings with full rights and duties, not as derelicts—Must give their best work to society, and are entitled to all legitimate enjoyments—Better compensation for intellectual work is reasonable—But little needed by each individual to cover what it is economy for him to provide for himself—Ostentatious wealth a social aim which would disappear—Most of the necessities, and many luxuries, best provided on a wholesale plan, as in the family hotel, etc.—City to be much more specialized to a centre of business than at present—Provision for old age or sickness 42

CONTENTS

XV

PAGE

CHAPTER X

THE MORAL STATUS OF THE SURPLUS CLASS

Three sets of motives for moral choices : (1) Inherited instincts ; (2) Early habits and teachings ; (3) Intelligent reasoning—First two only transmissible to surplus ; therefore overwhelming tendency to subject all to moral code of fecund class—Different standard, however, necessary for surplus, because their rights and duties are different—Physical vigour less important for surplus—Surplus freer to sacrifice self for general good—Higher altruistic ideals possible for surplus—Organization under such ideals familiar in history : Roman Catholic Church—Incentives : work can be done of too high a character to be rewarded in material equivalents—Family ties of all sorts except parentage can be strong—*Esprit de corps*—Rights of surplus—Vice and crime defined—Waste of money and minor personal vices of surplus would be crimes if practised by fecund class : Use of alcohol as illustration—Control of sex relations most important matter in the whole situation—Sexual appetite a normal one and its use not a vice—Its consequences very important, and safeguarding of children most important interest of humanity—Ideal of morality for fecund class in this respect not practicable for surplus—General continence cannot be enforced. Prostitution only expedient—Surgical means repugnant and of questionable efficacy—Childless marriage only solution ; but to be moral, women must earn their living 49

CHAPTER XI

THE RELATION OF WOMEN TO THE PROBLEM

Parenthood makes more difference in the life of a woman than of a man. Four types of women from the "sexuo-economic" point of view. (A) *Mater familias*. (B) *érialpa*. (C) Unmarried member of family. (D) Self-supporting woman. In ideal two-class system A and D are normal and permanent, B non-existent, C transient and unimportant—In present order A only recognized as normal and permanent—Two propositions as basis for present ethics : (1) Fecundity desirable for all ; (2) Mating always followed by offspring—

This ideal suitable only for new country—Safeguarding of family all-important—Man recognized as head of family ; society deals with family through him only—This forces all women to type B, before they can reach type A ; type B moral under this condition ; otherwise B is immoral under all circumstances—With pressure of population all influences tend to make B permanent—B has no useful occupation ; Game of “ Social Duties ”—Type D competes with heads of families for means of livelihood and reduces share of each family, which is the unit of the fecund class ; therefore D is immoral when the fecund is the only class ; therefore, opposed by old morality—D becomes, when there is a surplus, in some cases the highest moral type, but has to overcome inertia of old code of morals—Economical objections first overcome—Difficulty of overcoming opposition of conventional morals to new forms of sex relation—*Ménage libre* (type BD) frequent result—AD only permanent composite type which is moral under two-class system—Most plans of reformers attempt to establish some form of this type ; not approved by the common sense of the race —“ Women’s rights ” for the surplus class : (1) To marry and earn her own living ; (2) More liberal divorce laws for her than for the fecund class ; (3) Equal compensation with men for the same work 58

CHAPTER XII

THE PRACTICAL WORKING OUT OF THE THEORY

Two-class plan in line with usual process of evolution—Static condition requires uniform density of the world’s population —Ideal condition probably with less than all that could possibly be fed—Fecund class to be engaged in agriculture—Best place for them middle region of drainage basin—Cities much smaller than now—City dwellers to live in large general homes, giving greatly increased economy in providing for them—Social ostentation of women of type B eliminated —Social life in the co-operative home ; simple, but not ascetic—Small cities at centres of industry—Possible industrial army, with promotion to settled life in cities—Much of present transportation of goods rendered unnecessary by

CONTENTS

xvii

PAGE

static condition—Commuters unknown—Work of fecund class primarily production of new members of society—Reasons for preferring agricultural life for this purpose—Agricultural land analogous to brood comb of beehive—Regular succession of children in each family—Location of schools and other educational institutions—Large amount of leisure from mechanical work under system—Higher occupations: reading, social intercourse, travel: Plan in its entirety impossible without radical changes—Value of discussion . . . 74

CHAPTER XIII

“DAS EWIG-WEIBLICHE”

Basis of theory assumed; its advantages—Surplus class never recognized by law or custom; helpfulness of discussion of such a distinction—Woman question; elimination of type B great gain—Divorce question; strict rules for A, freer for D—Present troubles largely due to B—domestic service; for A done by C, for D by others of same class—Most of domestic servants at present part of social game of B—Dress; present custom suitable for A, unsuitable for D 93

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAGES QUESTION

Elements of production: land, capital, management, labour—Combinations of functions; yeoman exercises all four—Competition—In new countries no monopoly in land—Competitive system good in such condition—Basis of wages—With increased population land ownership becomes monopoly—Change of meaning of capital: newer meaning, ownership of means of production and a right to a share of product without effort on part of capitalists—Illustration of conditions by hypothetical small party on limited land area—Static condition necessitates new theory of wages: share in general product rather than equivalent for work done—Share of family necessarily greater than of individual—By making clear distinction between classes this can be intelligently adjusted 100

CHAPTER XV

LAND TENURES, CAPITALISM AND PROPERTY IN GENERAL

Land tenures—Value of land depends upon opportunity for production—Ownership of real estate dangerous monopoly only when land is too valuable for agriculture—Fecund class can have private ownership of farm land, other land and means of production, worked by the surplus class, held by public ownership—Modern capitalism essentially share-holding in general resources of society ; does not need personal ability—Modern manager important ; always belongs to capitalist class—Graphic representation of industrial changes—Currents of population 116

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIALISM

Graphic representation of outcome of present conditions : capitalism increases ; employee class kept at minimum living wage ; as pressure increases margin of comfort decreases, until all are in equal want, and return to savagery inevitable unless numbers are intelligently reduced—Socialist idea—Socialism belongs to modern industrial class ; instance from " Looking Backward "—Socialist desire better opportunities for family life—Results would be rapid increase in numbers without increase in intelligence—Final catastrophe of capitalist system would come still more rapidly—Capitalism conserves resources and teaches necessity of restricting numbers—Illustration by hypothetical mill stream and adjoining country—Explanation of Socialism : represents industrialism carried to the extreme. Socialists are those who should belong to surplus class in static condition 133

CHAPTER XVII

ANARCHISM AND THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT

Anarchist's ultimate ideal same as that of Socialist—Group action always necessary—Usual procedure—Public business tends to build up a ruling class—War and religion give opportunities for usurpation of power—Business functions of government require general intelligence—Dangers of government obviated by static conditions on two-class basis—Suffrage questions 145

CONTENTS

xix

PAGE

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF THE THEORY IN PRACTICE

Assume theory put in practice—Objections to capitalism— Futility of Socialist programme for solution—Solution by two-class theory—Graphic representation of tendency— Theoretical ideal reached without distress	154
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX

DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW COUNTRY ON A TWO-CLASS BASIS

Study of resources—Establishment of breeding-place and of cities—Control of commerce—Precautions against capital- ism; new countries at present show dangers of system— Undesirable labourers	160
--	-----

CHAPTER XX

OVERPOPULATED COUNTRIES

Quantitative study of resources—"Back to the Land"— Misconceptions of the meaning of the phrase—Must mean back to the yeomanry, not for individuals, but for the race—Elimination of the proletarian—Troubles with Mrs. Grundy and the clergy—Important task of medical pro- fession—Patrician class—Measures for making most of it in transition period—Dangers of palliative measures for poor of cities—Tendencies towards Socialism wholesome if affecting only surplus class	164
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI

UNIVERSAL CONSIDERATIONS

Humanity progresses by consciousness of larger and larger group interests, through the necessity for defence against aggression from other groups—Arbitration and tribunals— Organization gives greater individual freedom within group —Graphic representation of different forms of government and group action—Dynamic majority—Practical but legally unrecognized forms of authority—Constitutional govern- ment impossible without general literacy—Necessity of united action against something outside of group only motive for	
--	--

altruism—Danger of overpopulation gives such a motive for whole race—Changes in belief necessary—Numbers no longer important	PAGE 176
--	-------------

CHAPTER XXII

A BASIS FOR UNIVERSAL ORGANIZATION

World peace—Necessity for each country to feed itself—Industrial warfare ; its waste to be prevented—Commerce no longer an advantage, but for the whole race a waste—Its advantages not economic, but pedagogical—Ideal of static condition division of earth's surface among small unit groups, each based on proper number of fecund families—Exchange of intelligence among such groups—Advantages for free individual development	185
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

CLIMATE AND RACE

Northern nations most enterprising—Analysis of influence of climate—Zone best suited for man ; corresponds to yeoman class in single country—All people in this zone capable of high civilization—Zone divided among four races ; Germanic, Latin, Slav, Mongolian—Four divisions : Western Europe, China, Russia, North America—These four groups dominate entire earth—Problems of each group—China and Russia independent of other groups—North America and Europe allied—Western Europe should adopt static condition and give up local rivalries—Motives—Navy question—Possible international navy—Advantages of such a plan—Tariff wars	192
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIV

PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR INTERNATIONALISM

Europe now at zenith of influence ; other groups bound to outstrip it—Difficulties in relation to the tropics—Ideal conditions equitable trade and not domination—Europe alone now dynamic majority in all world questions, but cannot maintain position—For its interest to use influence in favour of world peace—Modern possibilities for spread of information—International commissions—Possibility of permanent international assembly—Its possible functions and methods—Questions for its consideration—Significance of universal calendar—Necessity for conservatism in action	205
---	-----

INTRODUCTION

THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR THE HUMAN RACE

ACCORDING to Mulhall, the population of the earth at the time of the Roman Empire was 54,000,000, and by the fifteenth century the population of Europe had reached about the same figure. In the year 1800, the population of Europe was about 170,000,000, and in 1900 their descendants, at home and in America and elsewhere, numbered over 500,000,000. No country of which we have reliable statistics at different times shows an actual falling off, except from emigration, unless it is from temporary causes like a great war or pestilence. Where emigration has kept down the numbers at home, of course the emigrants have increased in still greater numbers as, for instance, the Irish in America. There are no statistics available for the Oriental nations which date back far enough to give an equally good impression as to their increase in

population ; but since Japan and India have had regular enumerations, there appears an increase comparable with that of Europe.

A study of the relative rates of increase for periods of twenty-five years shows a very great acceleration in the last period. This is easily accounted for by a law which is a commonplace in all systems of political economy. It is well known that the increase of population is rapid in proportion to the abundance and accessibility of food supply. Practically there has been for the whole human race a tremendous change in this respect by the improvements in transportation of the last fifty years. On the one hand, surplus population can be moved from the crowded countries to new land where they can find food more than sufficient for their needs ; on the other hand, countries populated beyond where their home supply can feed them can import the surplus food of the new agricultural countries, paying for it with the product of other activities. This is a condition that never existed before the modern application of steam to transportation. The present England and Belgium would have been impossible a century ago.

How long can this movement continue ? It

has been the fashion for a generation of political economists to pooh-pooh at Malthus and talk about the boundless possibilities of lands yet unknown, and of improved methods of cultivation, and the irrigation and reclamation of unproductive districts. But voices are beginning to be heard on the other side ; within a month before these lines are written an estimate has appeared in print, based on present conditions and tendencies, which puts the time when the whole earth will be populated up to the limit of food supply at A.D. 2180. This estimate starts from the fact, which can be verified from statistics, that countries in the temperate zones, with land of average normal fertility, which have a population greater than a little below 100 to the square kilometre, or 250 to the English square mile, are importing food.¹

It would seem that wherever this figure is exceeded there are exceptional conditions ; either there is, in a warm climate where the needs are fewer, a population on an alluvial

¹ Of course, reckoning by political divisions is a crude method ; the real basis of division for natural economic group-units is the drainage basin ; but in many cases political divisions correspond roughly to this natural basis, and in any case it is entirely impossible to obtain statistics except for political divisions.

plain, fertilized from other parts of the basin, as in Egypt and parts of India ; or else, as in England and Belgium and parts of Germany, an industrial development which feeds the excess by exchange with agricultural countries.

It is of course evident that no country has reached the limit of possible food production, for three reasons : (1) In most countries all possible land is not used ; some is idle in the shape of ornamental parks ; some is held for speculation, or is exploited for pasturage or superficial cultivation ; some is capable of irrigation or reclamation. (2) The land that is under cultivation might produce more with more intensive processes. (3) Much of the land now under cultivation is devoted to the production of luxuries which add nothing to the actual food supply. It has been maintained that even England could feed herself if these three difficulties were removed.

It is not certain, however, that this estimate is justified ; and it may be found that 100 to the square kilometre for the entire drainage basin, allowing due area for forests, the importance of which is now better understood, is not so far below the ultimate limit if any margin is to be allowed for the employment of

human energy in other activities than the mere provision of the bare necessities of life. This is not far from the present figure for France, which has of the leading countries relatively the least of exportation and importation, of emigration and immigration, and the most of general wealth, intelligence, freedom from superstition and cant of all kinds, comfort and happiness ; and seems to be content to divide up its advantages among the present number of people, its population now being very nearly stationary.

Whatever the possibilities for prolonging the time, we must, after all, come back to the logical consequence of the two propositions of Malthus : the human race can increase in geometrical ratio (and in fact is doing so now) ; and the food supply can increase only in arithmetical ratio. The consequence is that some time there must be established a static condition, in which the race will be reproduced only so fast as to keep its numbers at a constant figure, which, from all considerations of a higher kind, ought to be considerably below the number which can barely exist on the available food supply. Such a condition has never been the rule for any large number of the race.

Our condition has always been a kinetic one ; in the comparatively few cases of population to the limit of food supply the adjustments have been violent, and after a war or famine the old movement is resumed. Moreover, such cases have been due to lack of means of transportation or of information as to emigration possibilities ; lacks which are now fast disappearing, so that the period in which we are now living is kinetic to a degree hardly appreciated by the general reader. How many people know that the new state of Oklahoma had in 1890 a population of 60,000 ; in 1900, 400,000 ; in 1910, 1,650,000 ? Equally startling figures are shown in the Canadian North-West, and in the Argentine, South Africa, and Australia. All new land fit for agriculture is being eagerly explored and colonized, and if aerial navigation is used as it can be for exploration, before another generation there will be no corner of the earth's surface which will not be thoroughly known and inventoried with its possibilities for production. There is no doubt that the time must come when the countries which now export food will be filled up to the point where they will need all they produce for themselves, and can no longer supply the over-populated

countries at any price. If the latter continue their industrial development, and consequently increase their population and dependence upon imported food, their distress will be something beyond all human experience ; and it is none too soon for them to begin to set their houses in order against such a contingency.

There is only one thing they can do. Their population must be kept down to the numbers which their land with the best management can support. This can be done by emigration so long as there is any place for it ; but what then ? Then the whole race must face the problem of how to limit its numbers to the figures which can make the best use of the world's natural resources. A study of the possibilities of the static condition thus necessitated has never been attempted, so far as the writer is aware. The data for such a study are to be found in the approximations to static conditions which now exist in thickly populated countries, the phenomena being most noticeable in the life of our large cities.

THE MALTHUSIAN LIMIT

CHAPTER I

POPULAR OPINION OF CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE

IT is a matter of common remark that many men born and bred in the country are successful in city life, while the number of city men who move to the country and succeed in any calling there is very small. It is also known that there is in a healthy farming community a constant surplus of population, which finds its way, if there is no new farming land within easy reach, to the city, and that the cities do not keep up their numbers without accessions from the outside.

It has been found that not over 25 per cent of the population of the German cities are children of parents themselves born in the city. The larger the cities, or the more the conditions of life in them are of the "great city" kind, the smaller is the percentage of population which replenishes itself. A study of the population of New York City, from

the census of 1900, shows that only about 10 per cent are born of New York City parents.

It is also a favourite theme for moralists of the old school that country life is much less corrupt than that of the city, especially in the matter of personal vices. They point to laxity in such matters as gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, and divorce; and it is easy to argue from this and from the fact of the failure to keep up numbers without immigration, that the former is the cause of the latter. Furthermore, historians point to the fact, so often repeated in history, of nations that have gone to destruction whenever cities have grown at the expense of the country population. In fact, the experience of the race is so universal in this matter that it may be taken as a generally accepted induction that no country thrives permanently unless its agricultural class is in a sound condition.

It has been, however, quite as often remarked that no nation attains the highest rank in literature, art, or even in material progress, without city life. Man is a gregarious animal, and needs the stimulus of companionship and competition to do his best.

It is a favourite figure to speak of city life as the flowering or fruition stage of the social organism, which thus makes use of the energy accumulated in the growth stage of country life. It is also undeniable that many of our greatest men in history have been born and reared in cities; very frequently

children or grandchildren of country-bred parents, but still owing all their training to city life. They are, however, almost without exception, children of well-to-do parents. A successful man who has come up from the slums is much less common than one who has come in from the farm.

With all the evidence in, it is probably safe to conclude that, as things have been up to the present age of the world, a larger proportion of country than of city children have been successful, as the world uses the term; they live their lives in an honourable manner, bring up families and provide for them, do something, which meets with recognition and approbation, for the general good of humanity; or, in a lower sense, they succeed in accumulating wealth. We must consider that, from this point of view, a very large proportion of those born in the country who remain there are successful, in addition to those who go to the city; while the latter seem to stand the pressure of city life, even with what disadvantage there may be in adapting themselves to new conditions, quite as well, on an average, as those who have grown up in the city. This must mean, if it means anything, that country conditions have been better adapted, on an average, to give children those qualities of body and mind that make a man able and useful to his fellow-man.

CHAPTER II

ADVANTAGES OF COUNTRY LIFE: THE YEOMAN

WHAT are these qualities, and how does country life develop them? Of course, what all popular opinion is based on is the result of country life under favourable conditions, such as are generally found among people of the yeoman type—the small freeholding farmer under reasonably favourable conditions of climate and soil. Under such conditions the farm work is done usually by the farmer and his sons, with some help in times of stress of work, generally from neighbours of the same class, who work for the proprietor and under his supervision.

In the same way the household work is done by the wife and daughters, with possible help in times of illness or other emergencies, which again is given by members of the same community, who for the time being are members of the family, and not on the status of an inferior class.

Children growing up under such conditions are likely to obtain a sound physical endowment, which is impossible for any but the wealthy classes in the city. They are, on the whole, well housed and well

fed; in early childhood, they have unlimited room for healthful play, and as they grow older they are put to work at various occupations suitable to their age, until when they attain full growth they are equipped with muscles and vital organs well developed and in sound condition.

Then, too, all the germs of disease which modern bacteriology has discovered are less likely to spread where the population is sparser, and are more likely to be removed by Nature's germicides, fresh air and sunlight.

Certain mental qualities too are better acquired under these conditions than in the city. The country child has fewer things presented to his observation than the city child, and can, therefore, give more time to impressions received, and can understand a greater proportion of the things he has seen than does the city child; and as more of the things seen have a meaning in the daily life of the growing individual, he forms the habit of *complete observation*: he sees all that for any human purpose there is to see and to deal with, in the case of a much larger proportion of the things that come under his daily observation, than the city child does. Such thoroughness of mental habit is a great advantage in all practical problems of life.

There is a school of psychology which maintains that all education of the brain depends largely upon the training of the hand. Certain it is that the

proper training of the hand is not only useful in itself, but, in connection with good habits of observation, gives definiteness and steadiness to a person's whole understanding of the external world. In this matter, the country boy has a tremendous advantage. There is every inducement for him to use his hands, from the time he is able to control their movements, in a great variety of operations. In very many of these he is not learning perfunctory lessons, but learning to do something which is worth doing as an end in itself, with knowledge of the end and direct personal interest in the result.

Country boys often display great ingenuity in providing themselves with playthings, and the traditions of their construction are passed down from the older boys to the younger. All operations of farm work call for more or less mechanical skill, often amounting, in the matter of repairs of farm buildings, fences, and implements, to a respectable elementary knowledge of the processes of several trades. Some tools of these trades are always found on a well-stocked farm of our type.

In the old days, when all, or nearly all, the food and clothing used in a farmer's household was of home production, the girls had an equally good training. In these days of the tin can and the mail-order system, there is no such variety of crafts in the household; but still there is a fair share of such occupations, even for girls, though it must be said

that after the girls have reached an age where they spend most of their time indoors, there is less difference between city and country for them than for boys.

In the matter of moral qualities, taking the term to mean qualities expressed in terms of will power, there is at least one important point of superiority in farm training. Farm boys and girls are required, naturally, from force of circumstances, from motives which their own reasoning approves, to undertake and carry out tasks, often irksome and of considerable length, for the attainment of objects often remote. These tasks are generally of a manual nature, with just enough of the intellectual element to give healthy employment to the mental faculties in the childhood age. Work of this kind begins very early in life and is a regular part of life until maturity. The consequence of this is that the farm child acquires a habit of steady application which becomes second nature, and is, on the whole, about as useful a habit as a human being can have. There is nothing in the daily experience of a city child that necessarily gives this habit. If city children have tasks, such tasks are almost entirely mental, and therefore not so well fitted to their age as those of the country children. City children, generally, have more school instruction than country children, and generally of a better organized kind. However, under the conditions that have prevailed for the last

generation or two, the farmer has generally had opportunity to learn to use books and periodicals, and to keep his accounts; and in the farm districts of nearly all civilized countries all the population is literate to that extent.

Whatever schooling a city-bred person has had beyond this is of little practical use for farm life; on the other hand, if a country child gets an opportunity for a little more extended schooling, it may be quite valuable if he comes to the city, and does him no harm if he stays on the farm; while in the latter case he has, in addition to the habits discussed above, which are valuable everywhere, but indispensable on the farm, a lifelong training in practical matters of farm life, which the city-bred person lacks utterly and can seldom acquire satisfactorily as an adult.

Add to this the gregarious habits of the average city person, who finds country life intolerably lonely, and we have sufficient reason why no city-bred person is likely to succeed in farming.

These conditions place, so to speak, a valve in the great current of population; so that practically no human being brought up under city conditions goes to the country and joins the farming class. Such persons are only fit to remain in city conditions; and their descendants continue in city conditions so long as the family is perpetuated.

CHAPTER III

CITY CONDITIONS: THE PATRICIAN

THE farmer boy who goes to the city with never so good an endowment in health, intelligence, and moral virtue, has still much to learn before he is fully fit to succeed in city life. Aside from the details of whatever work he has to do, he has to acquire a new code of social conventionalities, and, quite often, if his life on the farm has been in a thinly settled region, he is inexperienced in dealing with men to advantage.

Now it is possible, by schools and gymnasiums and a careful oversight of the growing child, to obtain for the city child, in a greater or less measure, all the advantages mentioned in favour of the country; and he can even be sent to the country for a part of the time and get them there. They do not, however, come inevitably of themselves in the ordinary course of life to him as they do to the country child; if he gets them, somebody must be paid to provide them; and he will generally, therefore, only receive them through conscious effort, and as soon as they are intellectually comprehended, will turn to something else, and not make them second nature.

A person thus trained has cost society much more than one brought up on a farm; but has at the outset a knowledge of social conditions and usages which the farmer boy sometimes never acquires. The latter often finds his physical condition from the farm a positive drawback, from the fact that he is accustomed to active exercise, and finds that when he is deprived of it his health suffers. The city boy, trained through the gymnasium and sports to a condition of physical soundness merely sufficient to keep his system in tone, can do more mental work without exercise than the farmer boy. He is not, however, so likely to be a good breeder; the farmer boy is more likely to be *integer vitæ* in all respects; not only to have greater vitality and force in general, but to be free from effects of personal habits, which, while they may not stand in the way of effective achievement, still leave less vigour to transmit to offspring. The American proverb of "three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" can be explained from this point of view.

In many cases, however, a high order of ability is maintained in the family for several generations. Of course, one indispensable condition is to provide adequate means of proper training for successive generations, up to the standard of ability required to maintain their place in life. It is seldom that successive heads of a city family possess ability enough to support a family of many children. Practically such

a family is almost always kept up by inherited wealth. In cases where financial conditions are stable, this leads to the building up of a patrician class. Such a class has existed very generally in human history, and although the institution is liable to great abuse, it seems to be accepted by all classes to an extent which must mean that in their minds there is justification for its existence. This may be found in the proposition that the common sense of the race has recognized that the members of such a class are, on the whole, abler than their fellow-men of other classes, and is willing to meet the greater expense of bringing them up on the chance that the race will, on the whole, be benefited proportionately to the expense.

Formerly, this contribution was made often in the form of direct labour performed. At present, it generally takes the form of capitalism. In any case, there is a recognized right of a class to receive the product of the labour of other classes, with the implied obligation to make return in men of sufficiently greater ability than those of the other classes to warrant the expense. The old motto, *noblesse oblige*, expresses this implied contract. In modern and more democratic days, when it has been put forward as a principle that all men should have equal rights and none special privileges, practically the only advantage for such a class in a democratic country is that of wealth. In this case, society asks

more directly and forcibly from the individual that he do his part, otherwise his children, if not himself, must pay the penalty; that is, if the family is to be maintained on the patrician level, it is the task of each successive generation to provide the next generation with one of two things: either the ability to provide in its turn for more money to expend than the average of the race has, or revenue from capital enough to equip the successive generations up to the standard of the class. If a member of one generation fails both to attain the standard of ability and to inherit the necessary amount of capital, he must either drop out of the class and accept a lower standard of living, or else dispense with a family. This happens so often that this class does not keep up its numbers, and is steadily recruited from the farming population.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROLETARIAN

A YOUNG man who comes to the city from the farm is accustomed to spend less money than his intellectual equal in the city. He is, however, accustomed to have many things without money for which the city man must pay: plenty of room, light and air, etc. Furthermore, many things for which all must pay, such as medical attendance, food, clothing, etc., cost more in the city than in the country; therefore, a country man or family, coming to the city, unless the earnings are beyond those of the working classes, finds it impossible to meet expenses if there are children, and at the same time to give to each child the advantage which he would have had inevitably in the country.

On the farm, the expenses of feeding and clothing young children are at the minimum, and as soon as a child is a dozen years old, he can be put to work in a way that does him no harm, but is rather beneficial; and from that time on he is rather a help than a burden to the family.

In a large city, on the other hand, every child is

an additional burden, and a relatively greater one than in the country; and if children must work, it is difficult to find employment for them which is not detrimental to their development, until a relatively later age than in the country; consequently children of a city family whose head is not much above the average ability in earning capacity regularly fail to get such good conditions as the children of families with the same grade of money resources in the country, and the conditions inevitably become sordid in comparison. Children are put to work too early, often the woman must work also, and the children have no wholesome family life. They are also deprived largely of proper conditions for play and observation of nature, and the book-learning they get at school is a poor substitute. They are physically, mentally, and morally unfitted for country life, and never migrate to the country, but always remain in the city, forming the proletariat which is such a menace to our modern civilization. In this class, as well as among the patricians, there are many celibates; but in too many cases, individuals of this class have not a realizing sense of the future and make improvident marriages (encouraged too often by old-fashioned religious teaching), and go from bad to worse in successive generations, until pauperism, vice, and crime eliminate them.

CHAPTER V

THE MOVEMENT FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

IN all sociological discussions it is unsafe to use the word *class* too freely. Let us say that our discussion so far has led, not to the fixing of three classes that include all mankind, but of three *types*, the yeoman, the patrician, and the proletarian, to which a great many of mankind more or less closely conform, and which are useful as a starting-point for further discussion. In some cases, these types are found pure; but in most cases, individuals and families partake of the character of more than one type, and in many cases of nearly pure type the case may not be a satisfactory example of the type. For instance, our yeoman type appears to the best advantage as a freeholder. There are, however, many cases in which tenant farmers under favourable conditions have better opportunities for their children than some freeholders. If the soil and climate are good and the tenures are hereditary or otherwise so arranged as to induce a personal interest in the holding, and the rents or share returns are reasonable, tenant farmers may be better off than

freeholders where the soil and climate are poor, markets too distant, or holdings too small. The point is that conditions must be such that life is not sordid, or else the surplus population turned out will not be fit to recruit either yeoman or patrician class, but become proletarians. There are, then, of course, all grades of country life, from the point of mere animal existence of the most oppressed peasant or the isolated mountaineer, to that of the wealthy freeholding farmer; and each shade contributes a more or less desirable element in the surplus.

So the term patrician is only one of several that might be taken to stand for the class. It seems appropriate because for the purpose of our discussion the point to emphasize is that the typical individual of this class has able ancestry, even though he may be in the first generation to live in the class. The characteristics of this class are the possession of capital; a relatively high standard of education; occupation in professional or other intellectual calling; in many cases an organized aristocratic leisure or military class with standards of social conventionalities which are regarded as higher than those of other classes. There is often a landed aristocracy which shades imperceptibly into the yeoman class.¹

¹ Of course, a land-owning yeoman is also a capitalist, but the distinction is this: the yeoman's capital is the means of making available his own labour of hands or brain, and his activity is confined to that field; the land-holding patrician uses the revenue from his land to aid him in activities in other fields.

The patrician class produces no material wealth, and must be supported by those who do; and as human society has almost always been constituted, they have acquired transmissible rights to support from the other classes, which have been so generous as to enable the patricians to set up a standard of living which is more costly than those of the other classes. The tendency of these standards is to increase in costliness until the difficulty of attainment leads increasing numbers of the class to refrain from perpetuating the race.

This is not very frequently done voluntarily. There is generally a desperate struggle to provide for a family on the part of most of this class who are without capital. If this is unsuccessful, their children, unless they are above the average ability of the race, go over into the proletarian class.

We can thus form a typical picture of this class in the different generations. In America, where the social forces are freest to act, the man of the first generation goes in shirt-sleeves in boyhood, or is familiar with men who do; later in life he has to keep his coat on, and on ceremonious occasions he even has to learn to wear a dress-suit. He knows and loves some kind of hard work, and feels more easy when doing that work than in any other atmosphere, though his wife may take him into others whether he likes it or not.

The son wears a dress-suit with better grace than

his father; is quite likely to be able to do good work and like it, and can take off his coat to do it if necessary; the next generation is a little fonder of the dress-suit, and is somewhat shocked at the ideas of people in shirt-sleeves; he may still have ability, and if the inherited money holds out there may be several generations of such men. But almost inevitably the time comes when, in some branch of the family, appears the familiar type of the man with refined tastes but no exceptional ability, who puts off marriage because he cannot afford it, or marries improvidently and cannot bring up his children with the same advantages he had himself, and so leaves no posterity in the class to which he belongs.

His children, if he has any, are in a second order of shirt-sleeves, but in a very different way from their ancestors. They are in shirt-sleeves because they have no coat, not because they are temporarily not in need of it. The farmer's coatlessness implies no lack of dignity; he has a coat, and no man's wife is more insistent than his that her husband shall wear one on proper occasions. The proletarian's life is, on the other hand, essentially sordid. He is in constant association with those who assume to be his betters, and his own attitude becomes one which responds to this assumption.

Between the extreme types of city life lies the whole city population. It is difficult to say, in many

cases, to which type a given family is nearest. In general, those who live by manual labour approach closely to the proletarian type. It is practically impossible for a family to live in a large city by the ordinary labour of one man without such privations that the children fail to reach normal development. This is equally true of the ordinary clerkships and the other routine intellectual callings, as well as the various trades of skilled labour which lie somewhere between the purely manual and the purely intellectual. In all these cases, prudence dictates celibacy, late marriage, or few children, and the more intelligence and foresight city dwellers possess, the less likely they are to leave a numerous progeny.

To sum up our results so far:

1. Country life under the most favourable conditions produces better human specimens than life in the large cities, except where there is money and a most careful effort to use it to the best advantage of the child. In all other cases city children fail to get some of the important advantages that come as a matter of course to country children without any particular attention.

2. The actual expense of producing an adult individual is much less in the country than in the city; therefore, early marriages and large families are more easily possible. A farmer, under favourable conditions, may turn out half a dozen boys, every

one of whom, at the age of twenty-one, has actually done work enough on the farm to repay all outlay on his behalf, and has done it without harm to himself in any way, but rather to his advantage. A city family of this size, equally well fitted to cope with life, is impossible without inherited capital, or talent of a very exceptional kind on the part of the father, that can be turned into money.

3. Some qualities of character especially given by country breeding are valuable in the city as well as in the country; while the city-bred person lacks entirely the kind of endowment for success on the farm.

Therefore, if a country were made up of prosperous farming districts and large cities, without opportunities for either emigration or immigration, there would be a constant surplus of men from the farming districts, who would go to cities and do that part of the world's work that belongs to the cities, beget offspring in limited numbers, which, in competition with the fresh blood from the country, would tend, in the upper class, to diminish in numbers in order to keep up the quality, and in the lower classes, fall off in quality until its numbers were brought down by "natural causes": malnutrition, disease, and vice.

Of course nothing in human society is so simple as this. Not all farming districts are prosperous. Not all cities are large enough to be subject to

extreme conditions. No country or social group of any kind is free from accessions from without or losses from within. Nowhere are all people in the country districts engaged in agricultural pursuits. There is no line to be drawn between city, suburb, village, and country. But here or there, all along the line from the extreme rural to the extreme urban, subject to all influences in human experience, which cause under certain conditions suspension, or even reversal of the current, the law operates, and the country population furnishes members to the city, whose descendants never go back to the country.

CHAPTER VI

A SURPLUS CLASS

WHATEVER criticism the law of Malthus has met, there is no denying its cardinal principle: that the natural increase of mankind will ultimately outstrip the available means of subsistence. Given a certain number of people on a certain land area, and let this area be tilled to the highest possible point of productivity, and, provided nothing can be imported, a time will come when all adult persons cannot have so many children as they are capable of having. It is theoretically possible that all shall have a few children—just enough to keep up the numbers of the race; but practically there are always some who have more than such number and some who have none at all. A few of the latter may be physically unfitted; but wherever there is considerable pressure of population there will always be persons who might have children, but from necessity or choice remain unmarried or childless, when under less crowded conditions they would have children.

All human beings belong to one or the other of these two classes: the fecund class, from which the race is reproduced, whose relations to society must

be considered with reference to their membership in the family, and the surplus class, whose relations to society are those of individuals only.

Now society has different claims upon members of these different classes, and they have different claims upon society. This means different economic relations, and different standards of morality. At present these members of the surplus class are found scattered among the fecund class in all conditions of society; in most cases they are less numerous than the other class, and the problems they present can be managed well enough by the laws and customs designed for the other class, until in any given situation they become a majority of the adult population or so numerous as to call for special consideration. From what has been said above it is plain that such conditions are most likely to be found in large cities. It is probable that in several of the largest cities to-day the number of adults who are unmarried, or if married have no children, is greater than that of the married with children, except in the proletarian quarters, where there are more children than there should be.

This is for Western civilization a modern phenomenon. Something like it may have existed in Rome in the days of the Empire, but the London and Paris of the Middle Ages knew nothing of the sort.

Modern medical science has reduced to a fraction

of the old numbers the deaths from contagious diseases, and prolonged greatly the duration of human life. Wars are less frequent and less deadly than formerly. Modern facilities of communication and transportation enable us to know at once and relieve very promptly any serious famine. All these conditions, which are likely to increase in scope within the next few generations, tend to a more rapid increase in the numbers of the race. Improved methods allow the greatest possible amount of products to be obtained from the land with less labour than formerly; so that a larger proportion of the race can be in other than agricultural callings and still be fed. Modern man is much more free as an individual to go wherever he finds it to his advantage to go, and therefore, more likely to join the surplus class from want of local attachment. The family, especially that of the farmer, whose success depends much upon knowledge of local conditions, is much less free than the individual. This relatively greater increase of mobility in the surplus class, as compared with the fecund class, tends to emphasize the difference between them as well as to increase the numbers of the surplus. This makes it imperative for students of social problems to consider, more thoughtfully than has been done in the past, what can be done to meet the special problems of this special class, and incidentally, to discuss the conditions of the fecund class as related to this surplus.

The old notion was that man's mission was to "increase and multiply and inherit the earth." This was before the earth or any great portion of it was fully claimed. Modern evolutionary science assumes that if the fittest survive, the unfit must be eliminated, and that this elimination must be a more or less cruel process. There is no doubt, however, that a supreme intelligence, with means of carrying out its plans, could so adjust things that a certain proportion of the human race should be specialized to exercise the reproductive function (in the broad sense of bringing to maturity men fitted for their life work), and that others be relieved from this function, to use their energies in other ways for the good of the race.

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A LITTLE study of a community where this principle is carried to the logical extreme will help to clear up our conceptions of the possibilities. Let us consider a colony of bees. Here the hive is populated from one pair of individuals, so far as the sexual function is concerned. The male dies in mating, and the female is reduced to the state of an egg-producing machine. She is relieved from all other duties whatever, even to the point of part of the digestion of her food. She spends her life in the production of so many eggs per hour, which are cared for by other individuals selected for that service. All other females are so treated in their early life that the reproductive organs are undeveloped. As in this case it happens that the female is the stronger sex, the superfluous males, being less useful to the community than the same number of females, are put out of the way, and the sexless females carry on the work and pleasure of the community.

Now, let us work out the analogy of this for the human race. To get the problem to its lowest

terms, let us assume a certain area of land, closed to immigration and emigration, in which all the possibilities of food production are used, and in which there is some authority which can regulate the life of each individual so that there shall be no increase of population beyond the means of subsistence for such a number as can live at the "standard of living" accepted by the community as satisfactory. Assume that it were agreed that a certain portion of the population, chiefly of the farming class, should assume the function of the queen bee and the nurse workers, and that the rest of the population, chiefly in cities, remain sterile and be free to use their energies in other ways for the general good of the community. Under such conditions, what proportion of the race would be needed to keep up the numbers?

Suppose for the sake of argument we put the women who are engaged in this occupation on the basis of the queen bee (a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the position in which some well-meaning persons would put all women.) A healthy woman, reared and trained from the beginning for the duties of maternity, with nothing to do but bear children, can bring into the world fifteen or twenty healthy individuals. This would leave, if the proportion of the sexes is equal, eight or ten girls to continue the good work, so that 10 or 12 per cent of the women born would be sufficient. The others

would be treated like the superfluous members of the weaker sex among the bees—chloroformed at birth, or as soon after as they reach such a stage of development that science can select the most likely ones for the next generation. Under a system of polygamous marriage a very small number of men would need to be husbands; perhaps not so many as 1 per cent, and the rest could be treated like the superfluous males of our farm animals and made to do all the world's work except that of caring for the rising generation.

Of course, the absurdity of this needs no comment; but it gives a starting-point which can be useful.

Modify it in the direction of existing conditions until you get something that might be accepted by a certain number of the human race on conceivable conditions. It is better that a woman should not bear children in too rapid succession and should have time and strength to give each one a reasonable amount of personal attention. For women who do not wear corsets and are in healthy condition, a family of ten children is nothing rare or undesirable. Taking this as our standard, 20 per cent of the women born could keep up the numbers of the race. The practice of the race is now very greatly in favour of monogamous marriages, and for a fecund class to produce the best specimens of humanity, it would seem well that the father and mother should

both have intimate association with the children in a way that is only practicable in monogamy. Suppose then that monogamy is practised; 20 per cent of the race, or to allow for various contingencies, say, 30 per cent (which is about the number engaged in agricultural pursuits), is sufficient to keep up the numbers.

To dispose of the surplus in the way suggested above would be nothing shocking or even new to a great many Orientals. Western civilization would not tolerate it, though the subject is now being discussed as a future possibility.

In any case, society has before it, and apparently will have for a long time to come, and with increasing acuteness, the problem of the surplus class. There undoubtedly does exist everywhere this current of population. Even in countries where the population is stationary, the same forces are at work; some families more than keep up their numbers, and others dwindle and disappear. If this is well, we ought to recognize it, to study all the conditions, to see if possible how society, through authority or public opinion, can guide and control these forces, so that the fecund class shall produce the healthiest, ablest, and most useful men, and the surplus shall be employed to the best advantage for the good of the race, with the least possible sum total of wasted energy, vice, and suffering in the process of elimination.

Human society, at present, resembles a "native" uncared-for forest. Such a forest does, indeed, produce valuable timber; but in many cases only a fraction of what could be obtained from the same ground with careful management. There is a constant succession of crowded and dying trees which are injurious to other trees; and the trees that survive are not always the straightest and the most valuable. Frequently, too, conditions of overcrowding arise in which all trees are so nearly equal in vigour that no one attains the best growth. Of course, the best results could be obtained if every tree were planted and tended until it is fully grown; but in practice this is quite unnecessary. In most cases, natural seeding will stock the ground, and a judicious thinning is all that is necessary. Analogies with human conditions could be multiplied to the point of tediousness; because, in fact, the whole general situation corresponds so closely. Human society is, like a forest, a collection of individual organic units of different racial types, covering an area suitable for their development, competing with one another and surviving by natural selection, unless interfered with by some external force. This force must be entirely from without in the case of the forest, but in man can be and has been countless times exercised from within; generally by one race or class of men using physical or mental coercion upon others, but also by common consent of a group or the majority of a

group, among themselves. For purposes of theoretical discussion, it is convenient to postulate such a force, working effectually and at once, and see what ideal conditions could be produced by it.

Having then established a theoretical ideal, without which no intelligent progress is ever made, it will be the task to study the actual conditions and see what can be done to guide the currents which cannot be, and perhaps ought not to be, checked, so as to mould existing conditions so far as possible in the direction of the ideal.

CHAPTER VIII

THEORY OF THE FECUND CLASS

IT has been shown that, supposing a land area in which the possibilities for food production are all used, so that no increase of population is desirable, from one-fifth to one-third of the individuals can keep up the numbers of the race. Assuming that it is desirable to specialize in this respect, the theory of the fecund class would be somewhat as follows:

Families of this class are under an implied contract to society in general to furnish the greatest possible number of sound men for the next generation. Whatever else they produce, even though it be the whole food supply of the human race, is secondary, since that can be equally well provided by others who are not so well fitted to produce children. Society, in return, is bound to furnish them the best possible conditions for their work, including compensation in material goods proportionate to the difficulty and success of their work.

The task of the fecund class is to supply men. If there is to be an extreme specialization, the majority of these men will ultimately be of the

surplus class; nevertheless, for the continued welfare of the race, the quality of those who are to go into the fecund class is of the first importance. As there is no doubt about an abundant supply, there should be a ruthless elimination of those least fitted for parentage. Mere physical perfection is, of course, not the chief aim in breeding mankind; but there have been very few cases in history where a physically weak or deformed person has left offspring who have been distinguished in any way, even if some great things have been done by persons themselves not physically perfect. It would seem well that all persons physically imperfect should be placed at once in the surplus class, as soon as the imperfection appears; it is even worth considering whether, from the point of view of the interests of society, persons so physically affected as to be doomed to a life of pain for themselves and uselessness to the race should not be put to death as soon as the fact becomes apparent.

So with all who are evidently mentally or morally defective; there should be no possibility for them to propagate; and here arises a similar question, which deserves careful consideration: In the case of those weak-willed defectives whose progeny is pretty sure to be undesirable, has not society a right, even a duty, to deprive them of the power of procreation? Certainly the best possible physical condition is ideal for the fecund class.

In the matter of mental qualities, what is wanted is good faculties of observation, sound judgment, and common sense, with sufficient shrewdness to be able to turn to advantage ordinary conditions of life. It is not necessary that members of this class should be highly sophisticated, nor is the acquisition of a very large amount of conventional book-learning necessary. This is quite another thing from the qualities above mentioned, though no amount of it that is likely to be acquired by this class will do any harm.

As to moral qualities, all the old-fashioned "domestic virtues" are, of course, in place here: love of home and family, honesty, industry, and altruistic good feeling and willingness to do good to one's immediate neighbour.

Of course, the ideal for this class is *integer vitæ*; whatever tends to impair such integrity, such as abuse of stimulants and sexual vices, is to be sternly repressed.

Having selected the best stock for the perpetuation of the race, we have next to give them most favourable conditions for their work. What is wanted, of course, is full opportunity for the children to come up well nourished, with abundant opportunity for exercise of all their mental and moral faculties in a healthy way as they develop. To this end there should be permanent residence, life of parents and children in close association, and with common

interest in work which is such as to bring out in the children the desired qualities.

It has been shown that country, especially farm, life seems to be most desirable; not because it is farm life or country life, but because certain kinds of farm life give the best opportunity of the kind desired. There is life in the country which is not farm life, and there are agricultural districts that do not furnish such opportunities. Any kind of industry in which a prominent feature is wholesale work, to be done by an organized body of labourers, removes these labourers from the home circle and association with the children for the time they are at work. This is a drawback even if only the grown men are engaged in such work; but if the women and children are also put to work, as in modern factory conditions, the case is serious at its best; and the factory system at its worst produces an army of hopeless proletarians which is a detriment to society far outweighing the benefit of any possible economy of production.

The mere fact of industrial production, however, is in itself nothing against a mode of life for the fecund class; indeed, some of the best human breeding places in history have been where mechanical trades and domestic manufactures were generally practised in the community in connection with agriculture. It is possible for such conditions to give children all the advantages of the farm, with the

addition of a better general tradition of manual skill and a somewhat richer social life in the community.

Similarly, people who live among an agricultural population, but are engaged in a more intellectual calling—the country doctor, lawyer, minister, shop-keeper—have furnished more than their numerical share of stock for the patrician class. Such people are more likely than the farmers to escape the real dangers of country life as to favourable circumstances for children.

It is, of course, easy for farm children to be underfed and overworked, to lack proper medical attendance, and to have their attention directed so overweeningly to the material side of life that they become stolid and lack touch with the intellectual world.¹

Stability of relations seems to have been favourable for the best development of the fecund class. This implies opportunity for regular work in somewhat the same conditions throughout the year, such as is given by diversified agriculture. This explains the fact that some of the best human stock has come from mountain regions or land reclaimed

¹ Of course, in practice, these have been and are real drawbacks. We are, however, discussing the matter from a theoretical standpoint; and in that sense, it is well to consider that if we could control all conditions these adverse tendencies could be guarded against. Practically, too, in the best farming districts they are intelligently considered and worked against already.

or requiring irrigation, so that the conditions preclude wholesale production or single-crop farming, where there is great stress of work at seedtime or harvest, with difficulty of finding occupation the rest of the year, or else the necessity of itinerant gangs of labourers who sooner or later develop a proletariat.

Experience seems to show that any attempt to bring up children on a wholesale plan, with hired help, as in institutions, is liable to failure; but, on the other hand, it is not well for children to grow up too exclusively alone with their parents, though the guidance of their elders in the more serious matters of life is indispensable. They need the companionship of those of their own age in the play which forms so necessary a part of child-life; therefore, a fecund community should not be too sparsely settled, not only from the above point of view, but also for the sake of economy in the matter of good schools, medical attendance, and other such things which are better provided for where the population is dense enough to employ competent specialists.

A programme for the establishment of a fecund class on our hypothetical closed area might be somewhat as follows: Determine how many families of the average regarded as the normal numbers are necessary to furnish the constant number which can be supported by the resources of the land. Establish a holding for each such family, selecting for

the use of the fecund class such of the farm land as can best be worked in small holdings by yeoman farmers. Such land will always support a population dense enough to give all the advantage of co-operation for industrial purposes, for schools and other educational facilities, as well as all the advantages of modern civilization, such as the telephone and transmitted electricity for other purposes. A judicious grouping of the farmsteads, not necessarily on the closely built hamlet system, but in such a way, at least, that groups of houses lie on neighbouring corners of land holdings, seems to be more desirable now than in former times. This can be made use of in grazing or forest regions to a greater extent than it is; so that even in a necessarily sparse population, most of the above-mentioned advantages can be obtained.

Find some way to provide for the succession so that this exact number of families shall be maintained. The old plan of primogeniture has often worked well, but this is a matter of practical detail, and we are discussing theory now.

The average of human life, now, in some of the best-regulated countries, is nearly fifty years. If every child were born and brought up under favourable conditions, it would almost certainly reach sixty and perhaps more. Two-thirds of the population would then be of adult age, and only one-third of them would be needed for the fecund class. Nearly

half of the total population would then be in the surplus class. They could handle all the world's work except farming, which could be kept entirely for the fecund class. An adjustment of this kind would wipe out the proletarian; but it would also wipe out the patrician class. Of course, there would be manufacturing, commerce, transportation, engineering enterprises, and all callings of a more intellectual character, some of which would also be practised among the farming population; but the city would be reduced to a compact group of people, at natural centres of trade and manufacturing, with all conditions adapted to the needs of a purely adult population. Now, remember that the patrician class, as we have it, is in any case merely a longer or shorter transition stage between the fecund and the surplus class. Remember, also that it is a very costly method for society to provide the able man. It is, then, at least fair to ask the question: Is not on the whole a healthy farm boy, from a healthy farm community (where the amenities of life need not be neglected), who has good parts and can be trained to any desired extent, worth as much on an average for the world's work and the world's play as the product of patrician training as we have it?

If this question can be authoritatively answered in the negative, room could be made for a patrician grade of the fecund class. A considerable amount of the industrial work of the world can be done in

a domestic way, with no harm, possibly even a benefit, to the children where it is practised. This would allow some of the intellectual workers to have children without overcrowding the population. If this were done, the place to do it would probably be in small cities or suburbs, or perhaps even better, in the professional classes living among the farm population; but this again is a matter of detail.

Finally, one more point, and a very essential one. The unit of the fecund class, in its relation to society, is the family. In its function of reproducing the race, it is what each family accomplishes in the way of quantity and quality of new members that constitutes a family's service to society; and what society does for the family should be in proportionate return. Now society can do in a material way only a certain amount for an individual: give him food, clothing, and shelter, and such reasonable pleasures as do not prevent his working to the best advantage. A gifted individual can do much more for society than can be measured in such material ways, but society finds some way to give him honour instead of money. Now, where individuals are free to compete as individuals and the pressure of population is great, a standard of remuneration will be fixed representing what an individual of a given class will expect. If society does not clearly recognize the distinction between our two classes, and looks upon the family as a mere aspect of the individual,

then the two individuals necessary for the beginning of a family are reduced to the earnings of one, or else are obliged to turn into other channels energies which ought to go toward the production of the best possible quality of new members of society. What society really owes the family is as much as it owes the two individuals at the outset, and then additional material provision in proportion to the number of children to be provided for. Now, it saves a great deal of trouble in the adjustment of this matter if we put all the fecund class in the same economic category, in a class that has a monopoly of the most indispensable commodity of the race, in the production of which a larger number of children in a family is not a burden.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SURPLUS CLASS

THE individual of the surplus class is related to society only as an individual. Where there is room for a rapid expansion of the population, such individuals are few, and are mostly inferior in one way or another to those of the fecund class. The tendency is, therefore, to regard every individual, except those manifestly unfitted for matrimony, as a potential member of the fecund class until he reaches an impossible age. Two corollaries of this view are that it is a misfortune to be unmarried, and that it is a duty to marry. Moreover, the tacit theory is held that the head of the family must be able to provide for his family, and that every man's "living wage" must meet the expenses of a family. As pressure increases, this wage diminishes until presently arises the phenomenon of a large number of individuals who seem to remain unmarried from choice; that is, they prefer a certain standard of living in a certain locality to a lower standard or less desirable place, plus a family. These, with an in-

creasing number of involuntary celibates, constitute a class whose rights and duties are those of the individual only.

How can society use such a class? And what can they expect in return from what society expects of them?

Let us take first, as usual, the extreme case. Assume that, according to our last chapter, enough people of this class are produced to do all the mechanical, industrial, professional, and other work of the world outside of the agricultural. These people are to be regarded not as human derelicts, merely to be pitied and endured, but not respected, and to be provided for in hospitals, prisons, and almshouses; but as human beings in full standing, who in consideration of missing the pleasure of parenthood are to be allowed in the fullest measure all other legitimate pleasures, but, on the other hand, in consideration of freedom from the responsibilities of parenthood, are responsible in the fullest measure for the right use of all their faculties for the general good.

Reduced to its lowest terms, regarded merely as a business proposition, without any consideration of philanthropy, the demand of society is for the greatest possible amount of work from each individual, in return for the least amount of the necessities of life that will enable him to do this work most effectively. In other words, the problem is

that with which every nation deals in the organization of its army, and in dealing with those individuals whom society is obliged in self-defence to put by compulsion into the surplus class, namely, criminals and paupers. This appears clearly in those works of peace which represent most closely the conditions of the army—all work done on a large scale, under temporary conditions, such as engineering work, lumbering, and the working of mineral deposits which are soon exhausted. This work is largely done now by people without family attachment. Such occupation is, however, regarded as temporary by most of those engaged in it, and they consent to work under such conditions only in the hope of arriving at a state where they can have more of the comforts of life.

In fact, to get the best work out of any human being, he must be in a frame of mind in which his attitude toward the work is one of willingness, if not pleasure, and this is only possible if he believes he receives enough for his work to make it worth his while to do it. The life of the surplus class must, therefore, be not merely a constant round of duty, with the bare physical needs of life supplied, unless its members are willing to accept this state from choice. It is a fact too that when the kind of work done is anything but mere manual labour, other conditions are needed to get the work itself done in the best way. Intellectual workers of the highest

type need clean and quiet surroundings, books and implements, leisure and independence to do the work in the best way. They also need longer and more thorough preparation for their work.

All these considerations would make it desirable that if compensation were measured in money units, intellectual workers should receive a reasonable amount more than the mere manual labourers; but this need not be very great. In some matters, for instance, such as the actual amount of food and clothing required, intellectual workers need really less than manual labourers. Most of the money spent by the so-called "upper classes," beyond what is required to sustain life in comfort (leaving out of consideration what is wasted in vicious ways which are generally disapproved), goes to comply with certain conventional demands. Some of these have a real æsthetic significance; but most of them, and naturally the most expensive, are nothing more than the opportunity to display the possession of wealth.

Now, wealth is a general rough proof of ability, though not necessarily of the highest kind; but it is also indispensable for the maintenance of the patrician class, as society generally accepts such a class, to which the best people (taking the words in their actual and not conventional sense) really do belong. Membership in this class means more than the simple possession of wealth, and those who do not really belong to it eagerly seize upon its con-

ventions; of course, finding easiest to seize those which money can buy.

Now, suppose that the patrician class were eliminated, or recognized as a mere branch of the fecund class, and it were understood that the bulk of the world's work were done by those who had no family standing to maintain; all of this ostentation would have no longer a reason for existence, and therefore would not exist. Each individual would be free to spend his money on his real tastes and needs; and these, so far as the individual can best provide them himself, would be very small.

Wherever there are a large number of people under similar conditions who are to have similar wants supplied, it is always economy to do it under as wholesale conditions as possible. Thus modern society is learning to do in general establishments countless things that our ancestors used to do at home, wherever there are enough people within reach to be served, which is, of course, oftenest the case in cities. The city family need not have baking or washing done in the home and yet may have better bread and more presentable linen at less expense, on the whole, than they could get from the average Bridget. In fact, we are hearing on many sides now that a family kitchen is unnecessary in cities. This would certainly be true if cities were inhabited only by the surplus class. A family kitchen on a farm is indispensable as an educational institu-

tion; in cities, a family dining-room is desirable where there are children; otherwise, it is a luxury which costs more than it comes to if a kitchen must be run to provide it. The ideal for the life of a stationary, sedentary surplus class is typified by some institutions which already exist—the college dormitory, the bachelor apartment house; from these to the military barracks there is possible a long sliding scale in the amount of comfort and luxury, which can be adjusted to any conditions. Similarly, institutions for recreation and instruction, clubs of various sorts, libraries, museums, etc., need little change from present conditions to adapt them perfectly to the needs of a purely adult population.

If there were no children, what remained of the cities could be much more compactly built; and with the modern facility of communication, there would probably be no such great cities as there are to-day.

Worker bees, when they have outlived their usefulness, are left by the colony to drop by the wayside; there is no instinct which prompts bees to provide anything in the shape of old-age pensions for their members. It is fair to say, however, that bees are able to be useful up to the last hours of their lives. It is possible that if mankind were bred with as much care as cattle, and lived as regular lives as worker bees, there would be little need to provide for old age or sickness. Still,

humanity has always expected to make such provision, and from a humane standpoint our surplus workers ought to have something of the kind—pension or insurance; or a margin of compensation sufficient to allow of savings.

CHAPTER X

MORAL STATUS OF THE SURPLUS CLASS

MEN make their daily choices from impulses arising from three kinds of sources:

1. The instincts they bring into the world with them—which modern science accounts for as the inherited experience of the race.

2. Habits of mind and body which they acquire in childhood, and the doctrines impressed upon them and taken for granted before they come to their full reasoning powers.

3. The results of their own reasoning and conscious choice of moral standards after maturity.

It is evident that there is no possibility for any of the first two sets of impulses to be transmitted within the surplus class. This class necessarily disappears within one generation from the fecund class. It is also true that nearly all of our choices are made from these two first sets. There are very many people who never get beyond such motives for their choices and accept all their moral theories on authority. Of course, all the teachings which every one has received "at his mother's knee" represent

the morals of the fecund class; because everybody's mother belongs to that class; and the influence of the traditional morals of that class would be overwhelmingly against any attempt to set up a special standard for the surplus class; so that whoever undertakes even to discuss the possibility of such a standard must expect to hear from Mrs. Grundy and the clergy. And yet, if we assume a normal surplus class, with full rights and duties, such rights and duties are bound to be different from those of the fecund class.

In the last analysis a statement of human rights and duties means a statement of how the individual can do the most good and the least harm for society in general, including himself as (for him) a large factor. The point of difference in this regard between the two classes is that the member of the fecund class must do nothing that will impair his power to produce offspring and bring them to maturity with the best development, and that he must positively strive to use his powers to this end as his first object in life. A member of the surplus class, on the other hand, owes to society the best he can do as an individual, and must do nothing that will impair his power to do this, and refrain from nothing that will further such power. Anything is permitted to either class that does not interfere with the power to do their best work in their respective lines.

With these postulates, it is not hard to find a higher altruistic ideal for the surplus class than for the other; higher in that it implies devotion to the interests of a larger group than the family or the small community where the fecund class would normally live; reaching, in the case of really great achievements, to the whole of mankind.

It is nothing new in human life for the individual to renounce family ties because of devotion to a larger group. Indeed, recognized organizations of such people are no uncommon phenomena in history. Such have been in many cases military, perhaps oftener religious, sometimes have combined the two. In fact, the soldier and priest furnish the most obvious prototypes of the ideal under the conditions we are discussing. The picture is that of energy which has been used for the destruction of life and property, and for the propaganda of imperfect theological dogmas, directed toward constructive industrial or engineering works, and the advancement of real truth.¹

A life spent in conscious and intelligent effort for such ideals, with the stimulus of organization and fellowship, and the prospect of rewards which cannot

¹ One can hardly fail to notice how strikingly the organization of the Roman Catholic Church, one of the most human of all the institutions in history, unconsciously conforms to the two-class ideal. There is a fecund class which, at the time the Church discipline was being formulated, was attached to the soil, and the surplus of this class formed a celibate, organized class of the priesthood, which had intellectual functions, and at times also a soldiery

be measured in material terms, is certainly not an unattractive picture. None of the normal affections and family ties, except that between parent and child, and none of the usual incentives to conduct, except that of the possession of ostentatious wealth, need be lacking.

The feeling of family pride and the desire to do credit to the fecund stock from which the celibate individual descends might give a strong and very human motive for good work; as, in turn, the desire to produce a long and distinguished list of creditable members of the surplus might be a strong motive for right living in the fecund class.

Work of a particularly perilous kind, such as that of the police and fire departments, life-saving service, and certain phases of work in the medical profession, are better done by a celibate class. Loss of life or health in such cases leaves no children in distress, with the chance of growing up undesirable members of society. As human nature is, the recognized entrance into this class would be sure to be made the occasion of some solemn rite, like the consecration of the priest and the oath of allegiance of the soldier; and a spirit of very earnest which was practically without family ties. Broaden the monastic vows to cover in modern terms what their founders intended—that no one of this class shall have selfish money or family interests, and that there shall be an effective organization—and devote their work to the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of all mankind, as well as of those of any particular theological belief, and you have the ideal suggested.

and lofty idealism and practical action might easily develop.

So much for the positive side of the matter—the duties. On the question of the rights of the surplus class, there are also some important differences between the individual as such and the individual as a member of a family.

There is a popular distinction between a vice and a crime which, though perhaps not a very scientific one, is useful at this point. We understand by a vice a bad habit, generally in the matter of appetites, the indulgence of which has bad consequences for the individual. By a crime we mean an act, the consequences of which are injurious to society, but to the advantage of the perpetrator, in his opinion, at the time of the act.

Now, a mere economic waste may be considered foolish, but is not regarded as either vicious or criminal, so long as it affects only the individual; and we are disposed to look more leniently on many minor vices, so long as they affect only the person who indulges in them. If, however, the welfare of others is concerned, what may be only a vice for the individual becomes a crime, and a sterner code of morals is natural all along the line; for instance, the father of a family cannot indulge in many harmless luxuries which are legitimate for the bachelor, without injustice to his children. No man or woman whose vitality is to be transmitted to offspring can

rightly do anything that can impair that vitality. One specific instance will serve for all in this matter.

It is now accepted by many authorities that alcohol has a distinct food value; that it aids in the digestion of other foods, and that those who use it in moderation are able, on account of this facility of digestion, to get better returns in work from the food consumed than those who do not. But it is also maintained by some people that (aside from the dangers of excessive use, which all admit) this very facility of digestion accustoms the system to such easily digested food and on the whole lowers the vitality; just as hot-house plants may produce larger fruits, but cannot stand exposure and do not produce the best seed.

Granted, for the sake of argument, that both of these propositions are true, it would be a clear duty for the fecund class to abstain from alcohol, or use it very sparingly, until late in life; while for a member of the surplus class it would be sometimes an actual duty to use it, and it would always be permissible to drink it in due moderation.

But, of course, the most important matter under this head is the regulation of the sexual appetite. It is difficult to say anything on this subject without worrying Mrs. Grundy, but it cannot be passed over in silence or without thorough discussion. This appetite is the strongest instinct in all animals, including man. Its normal gratification is not a vice,

but a function as natural as eating or sleeping. Its consequences, however, may be so far-reaching that society has surrounded it with a code of law, custom, etiquette, and mystery, all well meant, and generally good, as tending, more or less blindly, but effectually, to provide that no child shall come into the world without a guarantee that it shall grow up a normal member of society; but all applying purely to the fecund class and too strict in every way for the surplus. Taken literally, it denies the exercise of this function entirely to this class.

Every member of the surplus class is of course only one generation from the fecund class, and inherits all the appetites of that class, if a normal person, in a normal degree; the sexual appetite as well as the others; and cannot be deprived of it except by means which are popularly believed to impair seriously his general efficiency. Whether this belief is well founded or not, this means is so repugnant to the human race that it is not likely to be used except, at most, in the case of persons who are abnormal in other respects.

An enforced continence, for normal persons, has only been practised when upheld by some very strong sentiment, much stronger than the average human nature. The only solution which society has found has been prostitution, the evils of which it is not necessary to specify.

Really, if people have no children, the exercise

of the sexual function has no more consequence for society than the blowing of the nose. It follows that this is not a moral question at all; in fact, the law has very little to say about it, except as regards its consequences. Conventionality, however, which is stronger than law, has a great deal to say about it. The solution, then, if there is to be a recognized childless class, can be found within the bounds of the law as it exists, and can be stated in terms that need not even offend Mrs. Grundy. They can marry and simply refrain from having children, as many married people do now. Such marriages would be recognized as a different sort of contract from that of marriage in the fecund class. Society, represented by the State, or in whatever other way, should fully approve such unions. They would probably be entered upon openly, with some form of ceremony or registration, not necessarily the same as that for the fecund class, but in any case serving to publish the fact of the union, and recognize it as a normal outcome of the mating instinct which is unquestionably a very real thing, at least in Western civilization. All the romance connected with mating in the present state of things would be just as active a force under such conditions, and probably the process of choosing partners would differ very little from that found in the fecund class.

Since there is no question of the rights of offspring, it would, of course, be proper that if two

persons mated in this way found that they had made a mistake, there should be greater facility for ending such a marriage than one in the fecund class.

Society would profit economically by such a plan ; aside from such trifling matters as bed and board it would abolish the enormous waste of prostitution, provided it were carried to the logical extreme. A woman in such partnership, having no children, is simply an individual, and has the duty of supporting herself to the same extent as a man. She should, of course, also receive, to the same extent as a man, her full share of the material necessities of life and the immaterial honours due to her for anything she does beyond the ordinary.

Any other adjustment requires a woman to receive money directly or indirectly from a man in return for ministering to his appetite ; and for women who do this, all languages have a word which few women like to have applied to themselves.

CHAPTER XI

THE RELATION OF WOMEN TO THE PROBLEM

UP to this point, no special consideration has been given to the different relations of the two sexes to the matter under consideration. These differences of relation are so great, however, as to warrant a chapter on the subject of what has been called "sexuo-economic" relations. A woman who is not a mother is a different being from one who is, in a much more elemental and far-reaching way than a man who is a father differs from one who is not.

It is likely that the contribution of the father to the sum total of the activities required to bring a child to maturity is just as important as that of the mother; but, aside from the companionship and instruction which he may give them as they approach maturity, most of what he contributes is the result of activities which would be likely to be much the same if he had no family. For a mother, on the other hand, the mere physiological processes for each child properly nourished require at least a year and a half when she should do nothing else which might

interfere with these duties. A woman with a normal number of children in our theoretical fecund class should be free from all other cares and duties, if necessary, from the time of her marriage to the end of her child-bearing period; and society has always tried to protect such a woman in her position. A woman who has no children, on the other hand, is of no more consequence to society than the man who has none; and society shows no consideration for either of them, more than to offer them opportunities to develop as individuals, except where it regards them as potential parents. This latter point, however, brings about some very interesting aspects of the whole matter.

It is evident that from this point of view there are four types to which all women more or less conform. Let us designate them simply by letters:

Type A is the family woman. She shares with the husband and children in the income of the family, which is usually managed by the husband, and gives her time and thought to the welfare of the family, but she receives no stipulated sum and performs no stipulated service.

Type B is the *εταίρα*: the woman who is supported by one or more men, in consideration of companionship.

Type C is the unmarried member of a family group, who is supported from the common revenue of the family.

Type D is the independent woman, who supports herself by doing ordinary honourable work for a specified compensation.

Now, it is evident that in a well-organized society which recognized a legitimate surplus or sterile class, types A and D would be normal and permanent. Type B would not exist. Type C would comprise only the grown-up daughters of the fecund families, before they took their places in type A or D. In the present order of society, which recognizes as legitimate only the fecund class, type A is the only one which is regarded as fully normal.

In this social order, two propositions are taken as true and made the basis of all "sexuo-economic" ethics. The first is that fecundity is socially desirable for all the race; the second is that sexual intercourse is necessarily followed by offspring. Given a country whose material resources are still capable of great development, and a vigorous and unsophisticated race, and these propositions are so generally true that exceptions can be disregarded. If they are true, the present system of morality can be built up on them and their corollaries. If it is desirable for all to have children, then it is desirable for the children to have the best possible chance for normal development. Accordingly, it is desirable for every woman to be free from all other cares while her most important work is being done. Now, for many reasons, which it is not the place to discuss

here, the way in which the family is represented in its relations with the outside world, is, in practically all civilizations, through the male head of the family, who is, in the case of the usual monogamic family, the father.

A regular chapter in all works on anthropology, which deals with the history of the development of the family from more primitive conditions, tells us how extensively, under different forms, the practice has prevailed of regarding the wife as the property of the husband, and the children as something arising out of this proprietorship, for which the husband is responsible. The way in which the common sense of the race states the proposition that the children must be guaranteed the best conditions is expressed by the phrase that the husband must be able to support a family.

The proposition that sexual intercourse is necessarily followed by offspring has the corollary that for the best interests of society there must be no sexual intercourse, unless its consequences, namely, children, are properly cared for. With these premises, the conclusion of society is that no man may gratify his sexual appetite unless he commits himself to the support of any possible children, and that he must be reasonably able to make good this promise. That is what the common sense of the race means by the institution of marriage. It means the safeguarding of the children.

But young people, when they feel the impulse of the mating instinct, very rarely see so far ahead as to consider the question of children in all its bearings; therefore, society says to the young man (putting the burden of responsibility on him because he is to have the handling of the pecuniary matters for the family), "You must be able to support at least yourself and a woman before you marry." And there is in this an implied contract on the part of society to make it possible for every young man of normal ability to have control of enough of the means of production to fulfil his obligations.

Notice that this means for every young man: "If you can comply with these conditions, you are allowed to provide yourself with a woman of type B." And it means for every young woman: "You can only reach type A, which is desirable for you, by first entering type B." This, however, is no great drawback, wherever there are unlimited resources for the expansion of population; children come very soon and are welcome, and the woman takes her place at once under the normal type A. But whenever there is any pressure of population, and society is unable to fulfil its part of the contract: that is, whenever it is difficult for a man of average ability to provide for a family, this plan begins to work badly.

It has been noted above that type A is normal in any form of society. Type D is normal if a surplus

is recognized as necessary. Type C is transient—a sort of waiting list, but still a normal condition so far as it goes. From an economic point of view A and D are useful and C is on the whole negative. Disregarding any conventional standard of morals, and looking at it purely from an economic point of view, type B is always a waste. A woman of this type is always a consumer and produces nothing from which society derives any benefit. Now, such women, having no useful occupation and (except in the case of the common prostitute, who is not the most important class under the type) needing only a fraction of their time for all activities required in the various forms of companionship, flattery, and attention which they give in return for their support, are sadly put to it for something to do; they have, therefore, invented an elaborate game which they call “social duties,” which is the chief occupation of women of this type and is not entered into to any great extent by other persons, except as such persons are brought into it by them.

Desire to succeed and to proclaim to the world one's success is one of the strongest of human motives. Now, success for a woman of this type is great in proportion to the ability of her supporter to supply her with luxuries. This is in line with the common sense of the race; for the better a man is able to do this, the better he can provide for a family; so that a woman who honestly has type A

as her ultimate ambition is in agreement with type B. It is also in line with the vanity of a majority of the men; so that most men will permit and even encourage their wives or mistresses to go as far as their purses will allow. The result is that the whole life of such women and the social class in which they are numerous is a series of efforts to outshine others in an apparent ability to spend money. Jewellery and millinery are the emblems of this sort of life; but the tendency goes through all the details of dress, furniture, location of residence, and social observances. In the last analysis, the rule generally holds that of two alternatives in any of these lines women will generally choose the more expensive; because it is conventionally desirable, and only in a secondary degree because of intrinsic usefulness or beauty.

The social struggler is, also, in the last analysis, a manifestation of the same tendency; for, in the last analysis, distinctions of social classes are based upon the possession of wealth, or the recognition by society of ancestry possessed of wealth or its equivalent in the right to control the actions of others.

Now, as by the old morality, every woman is, has been, or expects to be, classed under type B, every woman of type C, and most, at least of the younger ones, of type D, is eager to learn the game. Moreover, the closely related game, belonging especially

to type C, which anthropologists and satirists have discussed at full length, the object of which is to get from class C into class B, is played on the same grounds and with similar methods.

Note that, in the old order of things, type A is ideally the only permanent one for any woman; type D is only sporadic; type C is transient and passes to B, which in turn passes to A. Every woman belongs to a family, and type B is the transition from the family of the father to that of the husband. The family is the only unit of society.

To realize this ideal it is necessary that the goods available for the needs of the families be shared equitably among them, and that there be an unlimited supply of undeveloped resources for the production of new goods as the numbers increase to the limit of the present supply. This condition is pretty closely approximated with an agricultural population in a new country. From this point of view, the goods which a man earns in a settled state of society are a trust to him for his family, and such a trust implies that he must make returns to society in the form of a family; so that every young man is regarded as a potential head of a family, and during the short time after maturity before he has one, he gets, in anticipation of a family, the same share as other men.

This works as long as the room for expansion is

unlimited; but as soon as pressure is felt, difficulties arise.¹

The economic phenomena are well known. The surplus population competes for the means of subsistence; the price of land rises and the price of labour falls.

The social phenomena follow: celibates appear, marriages are made later, children are less welcome and are avoided by married people. There is social competition among the women; the games of husband-hunting and "social duties" are played more eagerly, and each woman plays them longer.¹ Women remain longer under types C and B on their way to A. Type D has appeared and often claims a woman for some time before marriage. In fact, type D never appears pure at first; it is generally in the form of CD.

An activity long practised becomes a habit. A woman who has played the "social duties" game a long time comes to regard it as a normal activity, and often devotes her time and her husband's money to it to a disproportionate extent; so that she really never gets properly into class A at all. She may even purposely refrain from childbearing or relegate the normal duties of type A to others in order to have time to play the game. The result is that type A in cities is as rare as type D in the country.

¹ This is the point at which city life begins, and the further developments are, in the main, worked out in cities.

Most married women in the upper and middle classes in cities are either of type B or, more often, the combination type AB, which is fairly constant. Mrs. Grundy is of this type. In the lower class, type AD is the rule.

It has been shown that in the surplus class society has relations only with the individual. It owes him, therefore, only a share in the common goods sufficient to support him alone. Society has never found a way to distinguish between the rights of the family and the rights of the individual in this respect.¹

It is obliged, under the normal competitive system of production, to regard the goods received by an individual as payment for work done, and not as the share of himself or his family in the common goods; and to employ the lowest bidder in competition for the work. Employers as a rule make no difference in compensation between married and single men. Often they do not know whether a given employee is married or not.

Society recognizes clearly, however, that a woman of the surplus class is to be regarded only as an individual and pays women of type D accordingly. Now, if the city is an indication of a surplus popula-

¹ A very good reason is that society has no test except that of marriage, and marriage may mean several different things from the economic point of view, depending upon the type to which the woman belongs. It may mean normal fecundity (type A). It may mean what is economically the same as prostitution (type B); or it might mean the normal mating of individuals of the surplus class (type D).

tion, type D in the city is normal. Men come into competition with these women and their wages are lowered. There is, however, enough inertia in the movement to keep their wages somewhat higher than the woman's, and it is often argued that the reason for this is the common sense of the race that a man should have enough to support a family. However, man's compensation does go down, until it is a serious question when he considers a family. Now, if in addition to this a young man realizes that he has little chance to get a normal woman of type A, but must content himself with type AB, or even pure type B, he is likely to consider the game not worth the candle, and content himself with type B in a less conventional manner, which does not involve so great responsibilities. Thus arises, at once, a class of concubines and prostitutes. Both of these are of type B pure; consequently a total economic waste. They are recognized as such by society in general. Neither is, however, so great a waste as the married woman of type B, because a man can always break off the relation if their demands become excessive. The sentiment against them, however, does not arise from a strong sense of their economic immorality, so much as from jealousy, on the part of the conventionally correct women, of their successful rivalry. Most men are disposed to look lightly on this matter, and there are many women who are not old maids, who regard it as a necessary

evil; their attitude is like that of the trades unionists who put a social ban upon those who do not belong to their organization, because they begrudge them a share in the goods they desire for themselves. Of course there is with all this a strong objection to intercourse out of wedlock, because it may mean children who may grow up without any ordinary family relations.

There is something similar in the attitude of the old-school woman toward type D. It will be seen that this type is immoral under the conditions assumed as the basis of the old morality. Under these conditions every woman should be attached to a family, which is the unit of society, and no woman should compete with man in a way to reduce the scale of the family income. But the moment there is pressure of population D becomes as moral a type as A; and where pressure is as great as it is even now in some of our cities, D is the more moral type of the two. But when the point is first reached where there must be women of this type, it is, of course, unconventional, and it is kept as much as possible in conformity to the old moral types. The work at first is that recognized as normal for those types: domestic service, sewing, nursing, etc.; the tendency is to combine type D with the other moral types in the form AD or CD (or BD and ABD with the married woman); but a time comes when the pressure is greater, and the right, and under some

conditions the duty, of a woman to earn her living independently is fairly recognized.

Now, such women have the normal mating instinct like other women. The only way society knows for such a woman to satisfy this instinct is for her to become one of type B, and the old conventionality looks upon this as moral if it is a stepping-stone to type A; but the common sense of the race knows that type A pure is better than type AD for the children; therefore, conventionality makes it bad form for a man to let his wife earn money outside of the family. A man, of course, knows that type A is in the background, but in all sex relations he is forced by the old conventionalities to have type B in mind; so that it is almost impossible for a woman of type D who wants to mate in the only way which is moral for the surplus class, to make herself understood. Then, too, both sexes hesitate to enter into a relation which really concerns themselves alone, under the conditions which the old code has very properly made so strict as to protect children also, and so makes this relation too difficult to break off if it be a failure. Many women, therefore, bow to conventionality and remain virgins, which causes the sacrifice of a certain number to prostitution under type B; but very many compromise under the form of the *ménage libre*, which becomes almost the rule among the working class of girls in some cities. This may be absolutely

moral from the economic standpoint—if the woman receives no money value from the man; but generally a woman in this relation is of the type BD, to which she is practically forced by the fact that from the old tradition as to man's wages the man is generally in a position to contribute more than the woman to the *ménage*. The effect of this continues even to the point of pressure to the "minimum living wage"; in which case a woman generally receives a little less, and a man a little more, than the lowest on which life can be supported. This would be equally true, of course, if the parties were married.

The immorality of the *ménage libre* is, of course, in the possibility of illegitimate offspring. This assumes that our second postulate of the old morality is true. It was, when the old morality was established, but (*pace* Mrs. Grundy) *nous autres médecins, nous avons changé tout cela*. This also tends to make this relation the line of least resistance.

Besides the four types A, B, C, and D, there are (A and C being mutually exclusive) seven possible combinations, as follows: AB, AD, ABD, BC, BD, BCD, CD. Of these, all containing B are un-economic, and all containing C are transient or sporadic. This leaves only type AD. It will be found on analysis of the plans proposed by social reformers (practically all of whom have drawn their data from city conditions) for improving sex relations, that most of them advocate some form of this

combination of the two economically moral types; though some of the female reformers unconsciously work in an element which makes it really ABD.

Biologists tell us that nature does not like mixed types; and so the common sense of the race, anxious to safeguard its children, steadily opposes anything which interferes with the pure type A, and says to such persons, "you can't eat your cake and have it too." The racial common sense is ready to accept the pure type D whenever it is convinced that the type is a necessary one. If ever the time comes when the race is ready to recognize a distinct surplus class, and to allow its members all their rights and duties, then the obstacles that are now in the way of the woman of type B mating as she chooses will be removed; for if the race can see that the alternative is this or prostitution, there will be no hesitation in the choice.

The chief rights which the surplus woman wants are three:

1. The right to marry, with the frank understanding that she will remain childless, and earn her living and receive no money from her husband.
2. The right to break off the marriage relation freely, without social stigma or penalty of any kind.
3. The right to be as well paid as a man who does the same work; or perhaps this is better stated by saying that a man who does not represent a family

should receive no more than she, which of course implies that if he is her husband there is no injustice in her contributing as much as he to any common expenses. The root of some of the social evil is the money which is given in trust for a potential family to men who on account of the pressure of population cannot fulfil the trust.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRACTICAL WORKING OUT OF THE THEORY

UP to this point the discussion has purposely been kept as theoretical as possible. Purposely, because it is not the intention of this book to describe a Utopia of its author's. As we proceed in this chapter to present more concrete possibilities, it is not for the purpose of advocating them as attainable or even desirable; they are simply what seems to be the logical result of social forces and tendencies which now exist, and are likely to be of increasing effect as population becomes denser. It is not certain that the sum total of human happiness would be greater if the plan of sharp distinction between a family class and a surplus class of society were to be put into practice, than under a plan for a static population by which every individual should be a parent; but the latter plan would certainly require a more delicate adjustment, and be farther from the present condition of society, than the former. It is, therefore, likely that, whether we desire it or not, we may not be able to reach such a

higher ideal (if it is higher)¹ without first going through the proximate stage which is the subject of this chapter.

A further caution at the outset is that no static condition is possible for any part of the human race, until all the habitable parts of the world are settled up to approximately the same relations of population and food supply; that is, until the productive possibilities are everywhere used so completely that no one will find it advantageous to go where there are still possibilities for a better production.

Let us then suppose that such a state has been reached, and consider the case of a definite area of land under the conditions described on page 27: without emigration or immigration, with the productive possibilities all used, and with the numbers of the population scientifically determined, according to the standard of living considered desirable. The importance of this last point possibly needs emphasis.

It must be taken for granted that there is a physical limit to the amount of food that can be produced on a given area. This amount, of course,

¹ It is to be noted that the two-class system represents greater heterogeneity, and is therefore, by all the analogies of evolution, a higher type; but, of course, the everlasting question, *Cui bono?* can be raised. From the point of view of pragmatic philosophy, it is at least well to discuss all possibilities for the lessons that may be in them.

is much greater than is now produced, and much of what is now produced is consumed wastefully. The quantitative study of the conditions and problems in this field is as yet in its infancy.

Still, if there is no check to the increase of population, there must come a time when the whole life of every individual will be spent in the struggle for food and other absolute necessities enough to maintain life. The fewer people there are, the more food there is for each of them, and the less effort is required to provide a sufficiency for each. The ideal condition is realized when all the land is used to the best advantage and its product divided among just so many people as can live on it, each having abundance for good nourishment, and a sufficient margin for emergencies.¹

This is an elementary proposition; if the population increases much beyond this limit there must be distress; and no socialistic Utopia which assumes the right of every individual to be fed and clothed, *and also to bring up a family of more than two children*, can give a permanent solution of the social problem.

Of course, with such a condition, only a fraction of the working time of all will be needed for cultivation. It has become a commonplace that with our modern methods the production of all material things

¹ Of course, in the food supply must be reckoned the product of fisheries as well as of agriculture.

used by the race requires only an average of two or three hours a day for each individual, even with our wasteful and extravagant methods of distribution and habits of use. More intensive methods of cultivation require more personal attention, and it might be possible to use all the time of all the people engaged in agriculture, and even to employ in that occupation all persons not absolutely needed for the production of clothing and other necessities. Such a condition seems to be approximated in some of the Oriental countries. But if the increase in numbers could be intelligently regulated, it is certain that long before this point is reached a standard would be agreed upon which would allow a reasonable amount of time for higher activities; and the numbers will be kept down to such a point. The check in the other direction would be a reduction of numbers to the point where there would be too few to cultivate all the available land to the best advantage. Somewhere between these limits lies the ideal; and the probability is that it is near the limit of the minimum numbers with the greatest individual opportunity; always provided that the numbers are sufficient to use all the possibilities of cultivation.

Let us then assume that such a relation of numbers to resources has been scientifically determined and accepted by the residents of a definite area subject to the conditions stated above. Such an area pre-

sents the best conditions for study if assumed to be a well-defined drainage basin, such as Bohemia, or the Sacramento Valley, or perhaps an island country like England or Japan. It may be well to begin by a presentation of the points of difference between such a state of society and the present state.

The essential of the theory in its simplest form is of course to give to a certain portion of the population the task of reproduction and to place them in circumstances where their work shall be done under the best conditions. For this, stable conditions are necessary, and these are found in the work of cultivation—that is, work which consists in managing natural forces which give regularly recurring products at regular periods of time. Forestry, and in some cases fisheries, come under this head as well as agriculture. On the other hand, all work of exploitation—the working of natural resources which—do not reproduce themselves—such industries as mining, destructive lumbering, wholesale cropping of new land—belongs distinctly to the surplus class, as does all factory work. The essential thing is to find conditions in which children can have a permanent home, with opportunity for wholesome physical and mental life, in close association and sympathy with their parents, with opportunity to be useful, without harm to themselves, as they grow up. Agriculture will probably always give the best chance for this. It might be found worth while

to sacrifice some little economy in the production of commodities, in order to get the best human product, which is after all of vastly more consequence.

A typical drainage basin comprises mountain slopes, which should be largely forested; a region of middle elevation, generally hilly and of moderate fertility; and an alluvial plain with very rich soil, renewed from time to time by the deposits of the rivers. Probably the best land for the homes of the fecund class is on the border of the two last-mentioned regions. It is likely that most of the families might be located here, leaving the forest regions and the lowest plains (which are likely to be less healthful than the higher altitudes) to be managed by the surplus class. Of course all such adjustments would have to be worked out by experience in each specific case. It might, for instance, be found, as has been suggested on page 35, that a certain amount of domestic manufacturing is advantageous as an educational factor in the fecund class, and that the water-power usually found in midland regions of the basin, and the more healthful climate, would be reasons for locating the main breeding place there and leaving the alluvial lands to be worked on a wholesale plan by the surplus class.

Of course, life in the family in the fecund class would be much what it is now on the farm or the

country village under the best conditions, and all the features of the life of the surplus class are to be found now in the cities; but few realize what a place one of our modern cities might be if everything which is a survival from the traditions and practices of the fecund class in its normal country surroundings were eliminated, and the city occupied only by intelligent adults who have definitely agreed to have no children.

In the first place, about half the population of the city at present are children. Not only would these be eliminated, but also all the persons who are there chiefly on account of the children; in general a due proportion of those who provide food, clothing, etc., for all ages, but specially also those who work in the schools, and the greater part of the domestic servants, who are chiefly employed in families. Most of the inconsistencies and hardships in modern city life come from the attempt to keep up the forms developed where the social unit is the family, under conditions suited to the individual unit. The most important of these forms is the household establishment; something economically justified in modern city conditions only by the presence of children. Eliminate these and the situation clears up at once. In our theoretical system it is to be remembered that there are no women of type B. In the country all are of type A or C. In the city all are of type D. Every woman in the city is a social and

economic unit in the same way as a man. She takes her part in the same way as he in the world's work, and receives compensation at the same rate. Whether she is married or not makes no difference with her social and economic relations. The normal method of housing would be a number of establishments something like our present clubs, having private rooms for the use of individuals or married couples, with common dining-rooms and social halls. People of similar tastes would naturally find each other, and the character of the different groups would shape itself accordingly. There will be, of course, so long as the Socialistic millennium has not come, differences in human character, tastes, and ability; but no such thing as the present proletarian slum is possible in such a city. People who spend their childhood where there is plenty of room, as everyone must under our theoretical system, will never tolerate overcrowding; they will keep the numbers of the whole community down to the point where it is not necessary. Under such an adjustment of numbers, with a more rational system of production and distribution of goods, and the element of ostentation eliminated, there is no doubt that a very small relative amount of time and effort would be required to supply everyone's material needs; most of the time of the class could be given to the higher work of education, scientific progress, and art. Institutions for these ends—laboratories, libraries, museums;

and for recreation, such as theatres, are of course a part of the plan.

The work of distribution of food supplies and providing for other material needs would naturally be done under a co-operative plan. Once cut the Gordian knot by eliminating the private household establishment, and the present wasteful duplication of small deliveries disappears.¹

A city which now contains a million inhabitants would probably be reduced to three hundred thousand or less, and carry on all the present activities of general usefulness just as well. From 500 to 1000 is a good working number for an establishment for housing and feeding on a large scale; so that this total could be all provided for under from 300 to 600 roofs, which might well be so located that everyone could walk to and from his work. This dispenses with public conveyances, except such as communicate with other parts of the country. Private conveyances in the city are almost entirely a part of the social game of the woman of type B. The elimination of this type of woman is the greatest gain in the whole plan. It is estimated that there are 100,000 prostitutes in New York City. To support them and the human vultures with whom they share their receipts must require \$500.00 a year at least each. A drain, therefore, of \$50,000,000 a

¹ Consider the change in the matter of milk supply, if there are no children and people are fed by hundreds from one large kitchen.

year on the resources of the community; and yet this is a trifle compared with the unnecessary expenditure of the "respectable" women who give little or none of their time to the children they sometimes have, and who do no work with hand or brain which has any useful result. There are probably women in New York, each of whom wastes \$1,000,000 a year. Most of this money goes for things not desirable nor beautiful in themselves, or for services not necessary, but for things and services which merely proclaim the control of wealth. Put a stop to this reckless waste by giving every woman something better to do and providing higher incentives for every individual, and instead of society being a hostile struggle between classes, you have wholesome social intercourse among human beings, as it should be—the meeting of intelligent equals, under complete equality of material circumstances, to enjoy matters of common interest. Such could be the everyday life outside of working hours in the homes suggested; and of course on special occasions, hospitality would be easy and enjoyable. A large part of the service now rendered by hotels could be taken over by the home, and of course there would be very free interchange of visits between the members of the surplus and the families from which they come, to the advantage of both.

Of course such a life would tend to be democratic and simple, but it need not be ascetic in any way.

There is room for all comforts and luxuries which can stand an honest scientific inquiry as to their good and evil effects. Art and all things that are spoken of as higher would be stimulated rather than discouraged by giving more weight to non-material honour as the reward of activity.

This pictures of course conditions in a large central city where the surplus class is in the greatest numbers and carries on its most specialized and highest activities. The other work which belongs to the class, which might be, as has been suggested, everything except agriculture, would be located in many cases on account of material conditions, as for instance, manufacturing on account of supplies of raw material and water-power. In such cases a small city would grow up with conditions adjusted to the special activity to be carried on, but organized in general on quite similar lines to the larger city. Some of the work for the surplus class, such as educational and medical service, would be among the fecund class in the country; but in most cases it would be practicable to arrange the mode of living on the same plan, though on a smaller scale. Of course, it might prove that life in the large cities would be more attractive than outside. In this case an industrial army might be organized, in which the younger members of the surplus class could serve for a time, with promotion to higher activities and more permanent residence as an incentive for their work.

Transportation under a complete static condition would be much less than it is now. There can be no question that every pound of merchandise moved is a cause of expense, and that true economy means the consumption of all goods as near as possible to where the raw material is found. This is especially the case with articles of food, which are bulky and generally perishable, requiring much care in transportation. A large part of the commerce of to-day consists of the exchange of food for other products, between the over-populated cities and countries and the agricultural districts. The greater part of the personal travel to-day is also in connection with this exchange of products.

In the internal transportation of the country this principle plays a large part. Much of the local traffic consists in carrying food from where it is produced, to the people engaged in other industries and to the non-producers in cities. This must all be handled at each end, and necessarily in small packages as compared with many other kinds of merchandise. We know that this handling forms a much greater part of the expense of transportation than the actual hauling. Now, all children in cities are non-producers, so far as food is concerned. Every child brought up where the food grows subtracts from the amount of this transportation, and the sum total is further decreased by the other people above mentioned, who on account of the children

live in the city now, but would also be in the country if the children were.

There would be no need for "commuters" under our system. The whole system of suburban residence has grown out of the fact, which is well enough understood, that the city is not a good place for children, and parents make great sacrifices for the children's sake, who would never think of living at a distance from their work if they never had, nor expected to have, any children.

The essential of the theory of the fecund class is, of course, that a portion of the people, selected on account of fitness for parentage, be assigned to that class and established in the most favourable conditions for their work. This means that whatever else they do is subordinate to the bringing to maturity of the best possible successive generations of children. The problem of what the proportion of this class shall be, and how it shall be selected, must be worked out independently for each group. The elements of the problem are:

1. What is the total number of persons that can be amply fed with the food resources of the territory?
2. How many families at the normal rate of reproduction can keep up the desired numbers?
3. Where shall they be located, and what shall be their industry?

From the considerations discussed in Chapter VIII

it appears that from the experience of the race so far the best conditions have been found in the life of the yeoman farmer. Here we find good physical conditions conducive to health, a diversity of manual and mental occupations which requires ability of different kinds, a necessity for careful planning ahead, together with a method of living which ensures for the children stable conditions, freedom from too great change and excitement, and constant association with their elders in such a way that the children acquire from them all the traditions of the useful knowledge and habits referred to. There is no essential virtue in farming or any other occupation, except as it furnishes such opportunities for the children; it is possible that future generations might find it better to do most of the farming by machinery, and the manufacturing by hand in the family, in which case the latter would be better for the fecund class. Assuming, however, that as a whole the yeoman is regarded as the best fecund type, the aim would be to give each family just enough land to live on in comfort by the work of its members at ordinary times, without practising anything like sordid economy, but also without becoming capitalists and introducing the element of proletarian labour.

Such an assignment might give to such families the whole of the agricultural land of a group area, or, as already suggested, it might be found that

less would be required, and some might be worked by the surplus class. In any case the land which they occupy is to be regarded in the same way as the brood comb of the beehive, and used for the primary purpose of making it the best possible place for children, its food product being a secondary matter; though it might be found that nothing in the most economical use of the land would hinder its being the best place for children.

We have then conditions so adjusted that each child is born into a comfortable home where he is well fed and sufficiently clothed and sheltered. In normal conditions the parents of one generation will be succeeded by a couple of the next generation whose oldest children will be close to the age of their youngest uncles and aunts. Each child will, therefore, find himself a member of a regular succession older and younger than himself. These will all live in close association with each other, with parents, and generally grandparents, uncles and aunts. Each will be cared for, taught and shown by his elders, how to meet the practical problems of life, and as he grows older will in his turn help in the same way to bring on the younger members. As soon as he can go about, his interest in the world about him will be watched and guided, and his powers of observation trained. As soon as he can use his hands, he will begin to acquire manual skill in countless ways open to him. When the proper

time comes (somewhat later, according to the most recent authorities, than has hitherto been the custom) he will learn to read, and receive regular school instruction in things more intellectual. Schools of primary and secondary grade will, of course, be accessible to the home, and there is no apparent reason for any difference in instruction for the future members of the two classes. This common instruction might also very well extend to a period of liberal study of higher grade for those who show aptitude for it, carried on in institutions in the city; but whenever professional study—direct preparation for the duties of life—comes into question, the two classes differentiate sharply, and there is a further differentiation between the sexes of the fecund class. The young men of this class are to be trained in scientific agriculture; the young women in hygiene and domestic economy. For the work of the surplus class there is no difference in function between the two sexes, except as far as the difference in physical strength, voice, etc., comes into question. Individuals in this class should, of course, have all possible chance to develop any special talent they may possess, and schools for all professions and trades will gradually grow up. These will be generally located according to opportunities for practical instruction; probably most of them in the central city, but for industrial education the best place might often be found in the region where the industry in

question is practised. Of course, the agricultural schools for the fecund class must be on the land.

It has been noted above that, with the proper adjustment of numbers to food supply, only a fraction of the time of the people is needed to produce all the necessities. This is capable of still further reduction by a more extensive use of machinery and by doing away with the waste of the present competitive system. Much labour to-day goes into the production of luxuries which a saner social system would do without. It is, therefore, to be considered that all individuals of both classes would have abundant time to follow out their inclinations in the way of intellectual and social pleasures. Some of the possibilities are: 1. Reading, which, indeed, would be a matter of course, since everyone would be trained to use books and newspapers, and all parts of the world are now in very close communication. 2. Social intercourse, which would be a real meeting of minds on a common plane, and not a stiff game played by individuals and classes in competition; there would be no *social* classes; our two classes are economically distinguished, but socially, of course, would keep up family ties on the same plane of equality, and there would be only one code of social conventions for all. 3. Travel. It is to be supposed that great freedom of communication will never be lost to the human race, and that still further improvements are to be expected. So far as this is

used for the needless transportation of commodities, it might be curtailed, but travel for pleasure and education could be made very easy and inexpensive.

But further details seem unnecessary. The main lines have been laid down, and the reader can use his imagination in elaborating them as well as the writer. Of course, no such clear-cut scheme as this could ever be put into practice within any period of time that the present age has to reckon with. It would require radical changes in many institutions which are believed to be an essential part of human society as it is. It could never be established without a practical unanimity in its favour among the members of the social group, or at least so large a majority that the minority could be effectively coerced. It would further require complete freedom from interference from outside; which never could be had unless all other lands were on the same basis as to the relation of population to food supply, and complete world peace, not only military but industrial, were permanently assured. But this is equally true of Socialism and all other theoretically ideal orders of society; and if all men were thoroughly intelligent and perfectly altruistic, life under almost any social system would be better than it is now.

The value of discussion of a formula like this is the same as that of Socialism, or of Christian Science, or any other movement which emphasizes one side of some large truth. It furnishes a new perspective,

and throws new light on practical questions, enabling them to be understood and dealt with more successfully, because more intelligently.

In the following chapters, some specific questions will be treated in the light of the theory.

CHAPTER XIII

“DAS EWIG-WEIBLICHE”

LET us resume the propositions on which our theory depends. First, is the well-known one of Malthus: that population tends to increase in geometrical ratio, and if the increase is unchecked, must overtake the means of subsistence. Second, when that limit is approached, there must be a reduction in the number of children born, until it is only enough to keep up the number without increase. This can be done in two ways: by limiting the number to two in a family, plus a possible fraction for contingencies, or by setting aside a certain part of the population for the work of perpetuating the race and leaving the others childless to engage in other activities.

The facts show that the latter is the tendency in countries where the pressure is already felt, and furthermore, that the fecund class tends to be in the country, and the surplus in the cities. All discussions with which the writer is familiar have either ignored the inevitable *impasse*, or assumed that the first

solution is a matter of course. And yet the second is the line of least resistance, is quite in harmony with Nature's ways of evolution, and seems more likely than the other alternative to improve the quality of the race by conscious or unconscious selection, and to allow better work in other than family lines.

Up to nearly the present time the progress of Western civilization has been made with plenty of room for expansion; the full possibilities of food production have never been used, and there has always been a readiness to emigrate when pressure became noticeable. It follows that normally there should be a fecund class only, to which it is the duty of everyone who can to belong: and the phenomena which indicate the beginnings of a normal surplus class are not understood as normal, but are dealt with by the old laws and customs which have grown up for the fecund class.

Now many of the burning social questions of to-day are made easier by considering the possibilities of a division of classes on the basis suggested. Let us take up some of them and see how it helps to understand them.

Its complete solution for the problems of city congestion has been sufficiently discussed; but almost as striking is the fact that it seems to give a complete answer to many of the various phases of the "woman question."

The fundamental difference between our two hypothetical classes is that in the fecund class the family is the unit of society; in the surplus class the individual solely. In the fecund class every woman is the actual or potential mother of a family; and she is that individual of the family group whose life is most essential for the group, and in that sense of the most importance in it. She belongs clearly and entirely to type A of our classification.

On the other hand, the woman of the surplus belongs frankly and entirely to type D. The work which she does in any line has exactly the same relation to production and distribution, or to any kind of intellectual work, as work in the same lines done by man. She is as much an independent individual unit in all economic, political, social, and sexual relations as a man, and should have the same freedom, the same rights, the same duties, the same compensation for the same amount and kind of work. This eliminates at once the woman of type B—the prostitute and her more pernicious sister, the married woman who suppresses or neglects children to play the social game.

Many differences of opinion on the divorce question clear up at once on the basis of the two classes. The woman of type A is an integral part of the family, and so is her husband. It is against the interest of the children, and hence of society, for the

family to be broken up without the most weighty reasons, and every possible voice of law and custom should speak against it. On the other hand, the woman of type D, who is simply a female individual, if her mating with a male individual prove uncongenial, is true to her best self, and involves no one else except her husband, if she parts from him.

Most of the divorces of the present day, however, are cases where the woman is of type B, and the man tires of his plaything, or the woman of the hollowness of the relation. With type B eliminated, and the recognition in law and custom of the difference between A and D, there would be no divorce problem.

The problem of domestic service is also wonderfully cleared up by considering our different types of woman.

It is clear that children have a right to the companionship and instruction of those who are of the same social and intellectual class as their parents and themselves, and that if they are left much to the care of those of another class, they will acquire the mental and moral habits, language, and manners, of that class rather than their own.

In the yeoman class it is rare to find domestic servants; there are generally women of type C in the family; but if in exceptional circumstances others are called in, they are neighbours of the same class.

In the patrician families in the cities, the help is either from the poorest of the country stock, or from the city proletariat.

To be a member of a fecund family, and take part in the bringing up of the children, is a work of very high order; no one can escape the influence which such intimacy compels; there is no way of measuring its value in money. In our theoretical fecund class all this goes without saying; the work is done by the mother or by women of type C, of whom there would normally be an abundant supply, either in the family, or neighbours of the same ability and ideals.

On the other hand, the service for type D is performed by others of the same class; it is like any other material work, so much service for so much money, and it implies no intimate relations whatever. It would go on in our theoretical cities just as it does in hotels and boarding-houses at present.

Here, as in the previous question, the chief trouble comes from the women of type B. It is pretty near the truth that every domestic servant in a city family where there are no children is part of the game of social ostentation, which is the occupation of that type of woman. This is also true in a large measure in most cases where there are children. It is true wherever the mother turns over to inferiors any of the work in bringing up children which properly belongs to herself. With the disappearance

of type B and the combination type AB, there would be no "servant-girl problem." Let anyone analyse honestly the activities of any woman of his acquaintance, and see how far this reasoning applies.

The subject of dress reform is too complicated to be dealt with in full here, even if a man were allowed to have anything to say on the subject. Still a few leading thoughts may not be out of place. For women who are to live mostly within the home, and for whom maternity is a large factor in life, the general theory of the European woman's dress is well enough. This belongs to type A. The decorative elements which are added, where their purpose is to enhance sexual attraction, belong in some measure honestly to type C, but their chief use even in that case is for type B, and it is again the game played by that type that is responsible for the extravagant monstrosities of fashion, which have been the butt of satirists through all ages.

For type D, however, the whole scheme is totally unsuited. She needs a costume which will allow her the same freedom of action that a man's costume allows him. She needs at least a few pockets. She may not adopt all details of man's attire, but something which allows her to go about her work as a normal two-legged animal is very desirable. The ladies can follow out these lines of thought in as much detail as they please.

The questions of compensation for woman's work, and of the suffrage, are closely connected with that of man's and come in under the general discussions of those subjects.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAGES QUESTION

THERE is so much confusion of language on this subject that there is need of some definition at the outset, or there will be danger of misunderstanding.

The four elements in the production of commodities are, according to the usual economics:

1. Land, including all kinds of resources to be found in a state of nature. The person who controls them is the landlord, and the money paid to him for his rights in their use is rent.

2. Capital: goods produced and not consumed, which are employed for further production; such as tools, buildings, machinery, and food for the support of workmen until more is produced. The person who furnishes this is the capitalist, and the money paid for its use is interest.

3. The intellectual work of adjusting the means of production, superintending it, and marketing the product. The person who does this is the manager or entrepreneur, and the share which he receives for his work is called profit.

4. The actual work of production done by the labourer or artisan, the pay for which is called wages.

The work of transportation can be analysed into similar elements.

These functions may be exercised by four different men or groups of men, or two or three, or all may be combined under one. Notice that the typical yeoman is almost the only man in our industrial system who regularly combines all four in one person. This is partly why he is an all-round man, and his children get an all-round training which is good for them whatever their work in life is.

When a farmer enlarges his holding so that he cannot do all of the work himself, and regularly hires labour and gives most of his own time to the management, he combines the first three functions, so long as he does not borrow any money. The old-fashioned small manufacturer was regularly in the same position.

On the other hand, a small farmer, who with his sons does all the work on the place, may not own his land entirely or even at all: he may have borrowed money on mortgage, or rent his land from another man. In this case he combines the last three of the four. He may also, on the security of his growing crops, borrow capital for seed, tools, and food while they grow. In this case, of course, he is manager and labourer.

A manufacturer, unless he works on a very small scale, is usually, if he borrows his capital, manager only. The reader can analyse other possibilities as far as he pleases.

Each of the four partners receives directly or indirectly a share of the finished products. What the share of each shall be is determined by competition. If the manager is not giving the labourer enough, he can find another manager who will give him more. If the capitalist or the landlord charges too high a rate, the manager can find another landlord or capitalist who will charge less, and so on.

In the case of a thinly settled country, it is open to every man to become landlord, and that is really what happens, if the labourer does not get his full share of the products. Now land in itself has no value; it is only as it gives opportunity for production that any income can be had from it. The value of land, then, where everyone is free to take up new land, is the value of the improvements. Anyone will pay for such improvements just what he could have produced in the time in which it would have taken him to make them himself; and the principle is the same as that of capital in the narrow definition of the older economics—the landlord gets a “reward for abstinence.”

With a sturdy, intelligent, and thrifty population under these conditions, the competitive system is

good. The four elements of production are in fair proportion; nearly every manager is, to some extent, landlord and capitalist also. Few can live merely by drawing an income. Everyone who will work and use judgment can bring up a family. The pressure is towards extension and perpetuation of the yeoman type; so long as there is more land to be taken up by that type, there will always be young people who can make use of it.

Under this dispensation the price of any commodity is roughly what will repay the labour it has cost to produce it, or would cost to replace it. This is an old generalization which has been shown to have many exceptions, but for staple commodities it is fairly accurate. The theory of wages is an equivalent in goods—that is, the product of former labour—for the amount of labour given. So long as land is free, and anyone with reasonable labour can support a family on it, competition gives everyone, whatever activities he engages in, enough to support one also.

But as population increases, land becomes more valuable, and its possession constitutes a monopoly. This allows the landlord, under the competitive system, to demand a larger share of the product. At the same time, density of population and increased facility of transportation allows capital to be turned over more rapidly, so that the function of the capitalist, in the narrow sense, becomes relatively

less. A farmer or manufacturer who borrows money in modern times, does not generally borrow capital proper unless he is operating on a very narrow margin. He gives as security for what he borrows, the land and permanent improvements to which he holds title. He can get money at a lower rate on this than on goods in process of production, because the risk is less. The practical effect of this is that he transfers the ownership of some of the means of production. Anyone who will analyse the relations will see that that is what most of the securities representing wealth really mean in our day. Capital in the narrow sense plays so slight a part that the needs of the country are provided for (except for what is represented by the capital stock of banks) by the money deposited in the banks, which largely represents merely the transformation of the investments of the other order.

From these two factors, with the modern system of credits, has grown up a new aspect of property which leads to a new set of definitions. The term capital, which has become less important in the old sense, has been extended to include all means of production—land, mineral resources, means of transportation, as well as working capital. The old restricted use is hardly thought of in the modern content of the word; especially, the *capitalist* is a person who has, by virtue of control of a portion of the means of production, a right to an income;

that is, to a share in the product without any effort or activity on his own part. What that share is, is determined by competition.

To make things clear at this point let us take a hypothetical concrete instance: (the reader is asked to neglect all absurdities which would disappear, with similar conditions, on a larger scale).

Let us assume that some new land, instead of being a continent with unlimited room for expansion, is a small island with good soil and favourable climate. A man and his wife are shipwrecked there, and there is no means of getting away. They are intelligent persons and have all the implements of their civilization, as Robinson Crusoe had of his, and they soon bring all the land they need into a state of excellent cultivation. There is much more land than they need for their support, and they have no difficulty in living in comfort.

One day, after they are well established, another man and his wife are shipwrecked, and share their life with them. After this there are no further accessions. Both couples have children, and a little community grows up on the island.

Now let us assume that the island will produce food enough for twelve persons, and that this can be raised by the labour of two persons working twelve hours a day, or of twelve persons working two hours a day. At first the four work in common enough land to support them, each working two hours a day.

But then they have children, let us say four to each couple. This uses the full productive capacity of the island. While the children are young, the fathers work more than at first, but as the children grow up they take their share of the work, and everyone works his due amount of two hours a day. This goes on with perfect success until the children grow up and some of them marry. No one has ever thought of how much the land will produce; there has always been enough for everybody, and it is only when the next generation have to be fed that it appears that there is not enough for all.

Now there are two things that can be done. Healthy savages, such as the not very remote ancestors of the European peoples, will fight it out and kill off enough to bring down the numbers. People of a more advanced state of civilization, like the Orientals, and a more altruistic attitude, will reduce the individual share of the supply as long as life can be maintained, and then resort to infanticide and suicide.

A third way, which will be sure to occur to some one after the other ways have been found to be wasteful, is to regulate sexual relations so that the birth-rate is kept down to equal the death-rate.

But now suppose that our people bring to the island the traditions of our present civilization in the matter of property. The first man, whom we

will call Smith, has priority of possession, has spent labour on improvements, and is not obliged to allow Brown the use of any land at all. Say that Smith's improvements, though superficial, have covered two-thirds of the island, and that he has already two children when Brown comes; Brown will surely accept willingly one-third of the land, which is more than enough for his needs, as his, and be grateful to Smith for ceding it to him.

Now assume that twelve persons are born as before—six Smiths and six Browns. There is food enough for all, but Smith's land produces enough for eight and Brown's for four. The Browns cannot live on what they raise, and the Smiths have more than enough. Smith might let Brown have another sixth of the land, but he is an individualist and believes in competition and private ownership. He says to Brown, "If you will work the land which I do not need, you may have the products; but you must also work another sixth of mine and let me have the products." This the Browns are quite willing to do; the additional time is a trifle, and the food thus gained makes the difference between plenty and want. Next year Smith insists upon a larger amount of labour from the Browns; it seems again a trifle, and they really have no choice. Smith continues to demand more until the Browns are performing all the labour of cultivation for both families—four hours a day each. This is still quite possible,

and the families can get on amicably on these terms.

Now let us suppose that there is a bird of very beautiful plumage, known as the jackatoo, which is familiar to both families and found on the island. There is a sacred tradition inherited by the Smiths and Browns that no man may approach any woman who is not adorned with jackatoo feathers, and that no woman may receive attentions from any man who has not provided her with a complete set of them. The bird is very difficult to capture, and the men spend in its pursuit a good deal of the time not required for providing food. The women also use much time in making up the feathers into elaborate designs.

Now when the Smiths are relieved entirely from the work of procuring food, they spend somewhat more time on the jackatoo feathers. They have more of them, and the exercise of the ingenuity and prowess of the men in the chase, and of the artistic sense of the women in making up the feathers, tends to the improvement of the race. The Browns, who have less time for this pursuit, nevertheless profit by the arts developed by the Smiths. But presently the jackatoos become scarcer and more wary; the Smiths do not get so many of them as their women have grown accustomed to consider as their rights, and so, as they can force the Browns to do anything rather than starve, they require them to help in the

jackatoo chase for the Smiths, as well as to provide all the food for both families.

But the Brown women, as well as the Smiths, are firm believers in the taboo or tradition mentioned; consequently the family cannot be perpetuated without a minimum supply of jackatoo feathers; and if the women have the complete courage of their convictions, the feather problem is just as important for the family as the food problem. Here, then, seems to be the parting of the ways; the Browns can no longer meet the demands upon them; and if they think at all, come to realize that the demands are unjust. They must refuse to comply, and then the matter must be settled by force or compromise.

Now the Smiths are not essentially bad, but they, as well as the Browns, have simply let matters go on in the lines of least resistance. They take into consideration the whole problem, and agree to accept a complete new adjustment which shall be fair to everyone, and decide on the following: instead of rival family groups they will combine into one, and let the most promising Smith boy and Brown girl start a new family, which may have ten children. This practice will be continued in successive generations, regulating matters so that the total number of twelve persons shall never be exceeded; an occasional falling below can always be made up, and is in itself no hardship. They put all the land into

one holding, let each person give a due share of time to the cultivation, and receive an equal share of the products. This plan requires only half the former amount of jackatoo feathers, and the time thus saved is devoted to a careful quantitative study of the conditions of living, and the problem of making the work as easy as possible. Perhaps by improved methods of development and possible fisheries, the total supply of food can be increased; and perhaps with the true scientific habit of thought thus encouraged, the jackatoo tradition will become less important, and even eventually disappear.

Observe that it is not necessary to wait till things get intolerable before adopting this plan, but any time after the arrival of the Browns will do, provided that all the conditions are understood and that both families have equal intelligence, equal sense of justice, and similar traditions. Observe also that if Brown will limit himself to two children he can live on his third of the land, and Smith can have no advantage, and must raise his own food, and chase his own jackatoos, and the Browns can have as large individual shares of everything as the Smiths; also that if Brown will have no children at all, and wait till Smith gets eight, he can make the Smiths not only provide him and Mrs. Brown with all the food they need, but with jackatoo feathers to burn, or throw away, or accumulate indefinitely, since they

have no normal use for them; but food cannot be wasted, nor accumulated beyond a limited time. Observe that this can continue so long as there are only ten Smiths; if there are more than twelve persons on the island the condition is hopeless, and must be relieved by harsh means.

Finally observe that if there is an understanding that the Smiths shall never have more than eight persons on their share of the island, and the Browns four on theirs, the two families can be as different as possible in race, intelligence, traditions, and manner of living, and yet have no conflicts.¹

To come back now to the question of wages after this long parenthesis; it is plain that however well the old plan of return in kind for work done may do under kinetic conditions, where there is room for expansion, the limit for the minimum wage under competition is the limit which will support

¹ The reader may need to be reminded that this is purely an abstract presentation, in spite of its concrete form, and cannot be taken as a possible pattern for actual practice. Consider the following cases:

1. The Smiths are average persons of the present civilized races. They believe in individual ownership in everything, competition for goods, and the right of everyone to look out for his own interests. They are well-meaning and willing to compete on fair terms, but after all fall back in the last instance on the theory that might is right. The Browns are of the most "advanced" school of thinkers; they believe in the "brotherhood of man"; that individual advantage should be subordinated to the general welfare, that everything of which it is possible to have a monopoly should be held in common, and its products shared equally. They have the scientific

individual life. And as a static condition is approached, wages do tend to fall to this limit. Complete reduction to the limit would leave no room for children before they can work, and so some way must be found to leave a margin for families. Now our illustration has shown that in any final adjustment for the whole race, or for any part of it which can be sufficiently isolated, there must be, with full knowledge of the conditions, complete submission of the individual advantage to the higher good of the general group. The history of civilization is the history of the evolution of this idea as applying to larger and larger groups. Human nature may remain essentially selfish, but self-interest must be expressed in control of the whole group so that each will have his honest share. One of the most evident aspects of this principle is expressed in the old saying that the world owes every man a living, and in the modern Socialist theories of an equal

habit of mind, wish to base all action on real knowledge of facts, and regard the jackatoo tradition as an absurd superstition. They wish to live with all men on this basis, but are obliged, consciously though reluctantly, to do as other men do when the majority differs from them.

2. The Smiths are advanced and the Browns are average men.

3. The Smiths are average men and the Browns are ignorant negroes with gross superstitions and no conception of moral standards.

4. The Smiths are advanced and the Browns negroes.

5. The Smiths are negroes and the Browns advanced.

6. The Smiths are negroes and the Browns are average men.

An analysis of the situation through all these possibilities will

division of the necessities of life, leaving differences of achievement to be compensated in non-material things. Some such adjustment must be a part of a final solution.

Note again the essential point that the amount of such an equal share depends upon the sum total to be divided. It can be increased by reducing the numbers, and may be diminished to the point of distress by unchecked multiplication.

The point where the two-class theory throws light on the whole matter is this: One important task, perhaps the most important of all, is the perpetuation of the race, and an individual cannot be compensated in non-material things for this special kind of work. There must be material provision for the children while they are unable to work, and for the mothers while they are doing their physical part of the task. The family honour which is the non-material reward which comes from membership in a family of those efficient in this work, is shared by the whole family and not by individuals.

Now if we make a clear distinction between a class where the unit is the family, and one where the unit is the individual, the whole matter is plain.

show that there is no final solution unless there is complete agreement among all parties on the basis of restriction of numbers to the food limit, either in one family group, or independent groups agreeing to keep absolutely within their respective bounds. A working plan, however, can be reached, whenever the more intelligent group can force or persuade the other to comply with the conditions which are for the advantage of both.

Give to the family a share in proportion to the number of individuals in it, and arrange conditions so that this share may be as assured as possible. This can be done by giving each family a large enough share in the direct control of the means of production; and practically this seems to be one thing that nature means by giving us the best human product from the yeoman class. Another thing is that the work of the class, men as well as women, is to a large extent pedagogical: children need to learn what men can teach them in the matters manual and intellectual with which men have most to do. It is therefore well to give the compensation in such a way that it goes automatically for the use of the family group and brings the men's activity and interest inside of the immediate circle. This is another result of the yeoman's life.

The wage of the member of the surplus class is of course derived from the product from the general capital, which must in a static condition be owned and managed by and for the collectivity. The individual share, which is only a fraction (not more than one-twelfth if ten children is the normal number for a family) of the share for each family unit, is equal for men and women. This means, as has been discussed in Chapter X, both more for the women and less for the men than under present conditions. It is no longer necessary to provide for a potential family in the case of the man, nor to

drive women into the family by low wages for the self-supporting. Public opinion, and even legislation, has recognized this difference; as in plans for a tax on bachelors, or a bounty for large families. The former method fails, of course, on account of the reasons given in the footnote on page 67. The second is bad because it pays no regard to the quality of the children, which is much more important than quantity.

CHAPTER XV

LAND TENURES, CAPITALISM, AND PROPERTY IN GENERAL

THE question of land tenures clears up also with the two-class system. This is, of course, a special feature of the larger question of the public or private ownership of all the means of production, but it has received so much attention in itself that it may be well to discuss it separately.

It has been said that the value of land when there is entirely free competition is the same as that of air or water. It comes to have value in proportion to the amount of labour that has been expended on it, thus giving *opportunity for production*, which is the real measure of value of what is called real estate—land with the result of past labour expended on it.

It is true, however, that opportunity for profitable production is increased by mere proximity to industrial activity, on account of the reduction in the element of transportation expenses; so that real estate value represents in a sense the product of the collective activity of society over a given area, and rises

in proportion to the intensity of that activity. Real estate ownership is therefore practically almost always to some extent a monopoly; and this becomes serious in proportion to the pressure of population. Practically this becomes unjust at just about the point where the land, on account of this pressure, or for other reasons, such as mineral deposits or strategic points in the water supply, becomes too valuable for agricultural purposes.

Now our fecund class will theoretically use the bulk of the agricultural land, and each family should have thorough control of its holdings and keep it through successive generations. The old system of holdings in fee and hereditary transmission, with such features as entail and primogeniture, is simply the expression of the common sense of the race as to the best plan for the family; and can in the main be kept for the fecund class under our theory.

All the modern movements for public ownership, on the other hand, have arisen from the pressure which tends towards the formation of a surplus class, for whom such a system is essentially suited. Under our system it could be practically applied to everything except agricultural land—such as city real estate, mines, water-powers, and transportation franchises.

The question of modern capitalism has been necessarily discussed at some length in order to get at

the matter of wages. Some further thoughts are as follows:

Much has been written about the effect of modern conditions upon capital (in the newer and more general use of the word), in the direction of consolidation on the one hand, and freedom of movement on the other. Practically a person who puts money into a savings-bank, or buys any of the usual bond-market securities, becomes a shareholder in a general fund of means of production, which is far on the way towards a general monopoly; and he is entitled, if things go well, without thought or effort on his part, to receive a certain share in the product. Operations tend to be conducted on an ever-increasing scale, eliminating competition and with it all duplication of effort and all waste in different lines. The logical outcome of the movement is a complete unification of all industries under one management.

This state of things differentiates sharply among the different elements of production, and forces a better definition of the status of the intellectual worker. The possession of capital does not in itself imply any superiority of judgment or other mental endowment. The acquisition of it generally does. In the days when a man or his immediate ancestors acquired, by personal industry or skill in management, the capital he possessed, he was likely to be a better man in mental and moral power than his

fellow-men. In those days the possession of capital generally meant a great deal of responsibility for its management, and the capitalist and manager were oftener one person than two.

On the other hand, there were many clerical duties necessarily performed by the manager in the days when education was not general and modern mechanical devices for such work were unknown, which require less intellectual and moral power than the average of manual callings.

The modern development tends to bring out a specialist type of the highly intellectual and efficient manager, standing between the mere bondholder and the mere employee; of whom the former may be an absolute idiot, and the latter need only be able to tend a machine or copy letters. Of course such a man is practically always a member of the capitalist class also. Either he is born in it or his ability soon brings him capital. Where capital constitutes a monopoly, this advantage enables the men who are in the saddle to use the force of competition to keep equally good men in the status of the employee, so that the distinction tends to become sharper and a conflict threatens, which is mitigated only by the fact that it is possible for a man to belong to both classes, and that in a prosperous condition of industry most men do.

To make these conditions clear, let us resort to the graphic method.

Let the large rectangle represent the total food possibilities of a given territory. Let the part enclosed in the lower left corner represent the part now used by the people. Vertical height represents in a general way the amount of produce obtained from the resources worked, and horizontal extension the number of people on the territory.

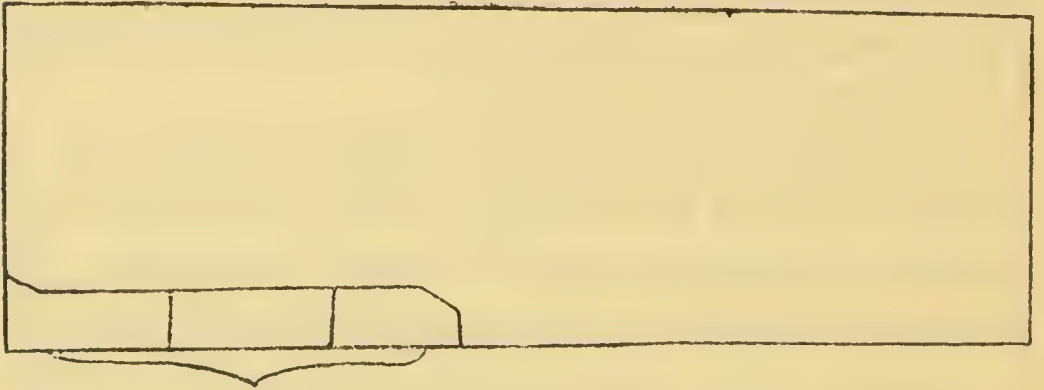


FIG. 1

Figure 1 shows the earliest conditions, where there is room for unlimited expansion and free competition. The divisions represent on the left the capitalist, the manager next, the labourer at the right. Their numbers will be approximately equal, though almost everyone will belong to all three classes. The share of the produce falling to each class is also equal. No high grade of intelligence is required for a man to make a living and support a family, and everyone can do so. This is the condition of the yeoman class in a new country, and also of the artisan with a small shop in the days of handwork. Life is simple and in general very few accumulate any

capital. The case of the few who do is shown at the upper left corner of the space representing the class. At the right is shown the case of the few who have not intelligence enough to support a family, and so their share falls below the general horizontal line. The raising of the line on the left of course indicates those whose share of the produce on account of the possession of capital comes above the amount necessary to support a family, and who therefore do not need the average amount of intelligence in order to have one. The bracket under the line marks the limit where this average amount of intelligence is found.



FIG. 2

Figure 2 shows the condition in the fullest development of the older factory system with relatively small independent establishments. The classes of capitalists and managers, still largely combined in the same person, are relatively smaller, but have a larger proportionate share of the product. The total

product is large, so that all except the very poorest quality of humanity can support families, but the capitalist and manager get a relatively larger share of it. High intelligence is still required of the manager, but the labourer in most cases has merely to tend a machine; though some work still, especially that of producing machines, requires intellectual ability. The mere capitalist of course may be without such ability. Notice that the sum total of intellectual ability is much smaller than in Figure 1, and that it is possible to have a family without it.

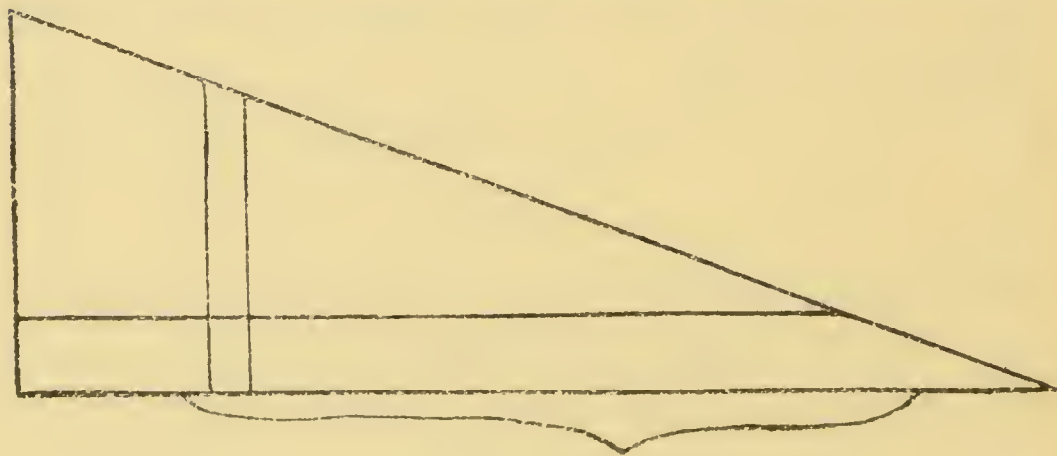


FIG. 3

Figure 3 shows the conditions under the modern consolidation of capital. The space representing the manager class is reduced to a thin line, which tends to be absorbed by the capitalist. The latter becomes relatively more numerous and has a still larger share of the product. The labourer has become an entirely different kind of person. Improvements in machinery and methods of production have made the man who

is a mere automaton of much less importance. More of the work comes under the head of skilled labour, and on account of delegation of routine work by the manager, more of the educated are in the employee class. While mere book knowledge does not mean intelligence, opportunity to get it is nevertheless more general, and all who have a good intellectual endowment have had opportunity to develop it. From all these reasons the proportion of persons of high intelligence to the total has become greater than in the state of things represented by Figure 2, but it has moved to another place in the economic scale.

On the other hand, the inequality of the classes as to the share of the product has become greater, and there is a contingent of the employee class who have intelligence enough to support a family, whose share in the product is not sufficient to allow them to do it. This is the "intellectual proletariat" of which we hear so much in our modern city life.

Under a system of relentless competition, of course this condition must extend and become more acute until no one who is not a capitalist can have a family. The tendency is more and more toward the state where the wage is only what will give an individual enough to meet the conditions of life in the social class where he belongs. The phenomena are too well known to need description: pauperism,

exploitation of the labour of women and children, prostitution, and a general deterioration.

If the increase in population is at the rate of 1 per cent a year, and the interest rate 4 per cent, which is something like the general average at present, capital will double about three times as fast as population. As new land is taken up, a constantly increasing proportion comes into the hands of the capitalist. This is generally worked on a large scale by hired labour, so that, instead of the growth of the yeomanry, the capitalistic method of production extends to agriculture.

People above the average intelligence in the employee class are able to make savings and get into the capitalist class; those below are eliminated in a generation or two, at a cost of great waste to the race. There is also an elimination of the less intelligent of the capitalist class, which is slower and at proportionately even greater waste. The struggle for capital becomes fierce, and use of the intellectual faculties for higher things is discouraged. A man who takes up a calling which requires long preparation must either be born in the capitalist class or possess unusual ability, and when he gets to work can seldom have many children, and the sensible thing for him to do is for him to remain unmarried. The tendency is for the best intellects to go into the more commercial callings, and leave the professions to the mediocre talents of the capitalist class.

Remember that this industrial life, with the other activities, uses up the population of our cities, and the yeoman class furnishes new material. This takes rank and choice of occupation according to its intelligence. A graphic representation of the currents would be somewhat as in Figure 4.

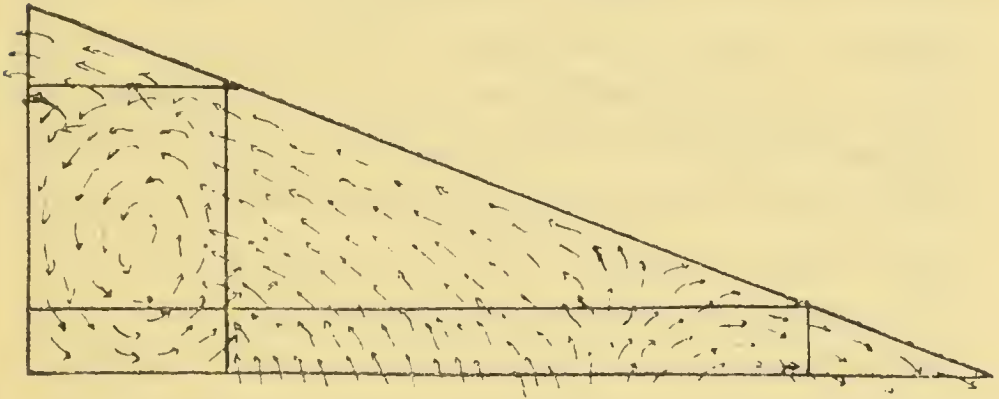


FIG. 4

The yeoman class may be thought of as a seed-bed underlying the employee class, into which new members enter, further to the left in proportion to their intelligence. (Of course it is impossible to represent the relative numbers of this class on the diagram without complicating it too much.) An occasional case of a capitalist directly from this class may sometimes occur. If a man is unfit to maintain a family, what becomes of him is represented by the right-hand current. He gets into the triangle at the right, which represents those in the process of elimination, and his children, if he has any, disappear.

If he can maintain himself and a family he takes his place in the left-hand current and gets into the middle triangle, which represents prosperity, and he or his descendants ultimately get over the line into the capitalists. This division forms a great conservative pool where many generations may float around without getting anywhere in particular. But ultimately some of them are washed by the current, either into the upper triangle, which represents the elimination of the worthless members of the capitalist class, or back among the employees with an impetus which tends to throw them far to the right toward the triangle of proletarian elimination.

An interesting thing about this is what it can show by changing the conditions of the diagram so as to represent a greater or less inequality in the share of the product. Note that the relative size of the middle triangle is very important; the larger it is the more the opportunity, and healthier the group life. On the other hand, the larger the upper and lower triangles, representing waste, the more suffering in the poorer classes and the more deadly luxury and immorality in the richer.

Now move the point of division towards the lower corner, thus representing greater differences in wealth, and observe the changes (Fig. 5).

The standard of living remaining the same, the number of effective producers falls off, so that there is not quite so much for either class. The capitalists

decrease slightly in actual numbers, but yet divide on the whole a still larger share of the total product. More of this is wasted, and the part between the line

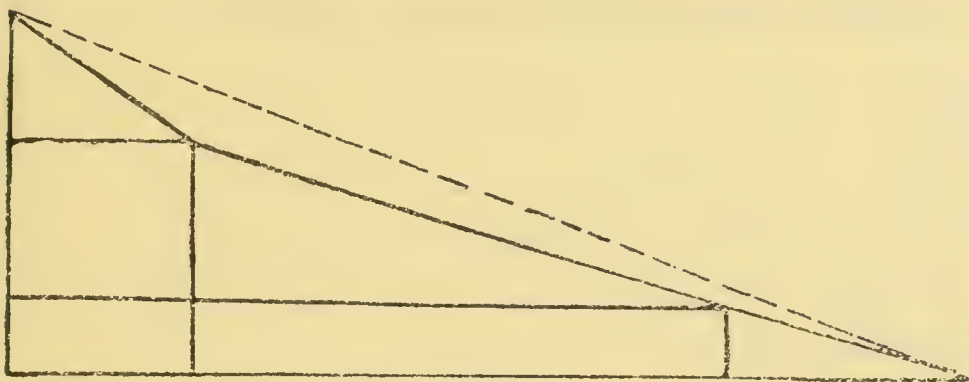


FIG. 5

representing the necessary cost of living and the triangle of elimination (which part represents what the capitalist class contribute to the welfare of the group in the way of encouragement of higher activities or reserve of capital) is relatively diminished, from two directions. More of the energy of the employee class goes to meet the expense of living; there is less opportunity for them to get into the capitalist class, and the triangles of elimination are greatly increased.

Continue this movement to a point where no one but a capitalist can support a family (Fig. 6).

Of course this is the limit beyond which there must be an actual falling off in the population, or a change in economic conditions. A social revolution and a redistribution of capital is one possibility. This is what happened in France when things were pretty

nearly at this pass; but things cannot reach this pass so long as there is a sound yeoman class to furnish new labourers. However, it has generally been the case that the capitalistic method has invaded



FIG. 6

the yeoman class. The land has passed into the hands of large proprietors, some of whom, of course, are the more thrifty of the old yeoman class, and the less competent of that class have become serfs and hired labourers, subject to the same competition as the industrial proletariat. A nation approaching such a condition often falls a prey to a more vigorous people in war, or goes through a long period of decadence until a new, healthy fecund class can be built up by immigration or the discipline of adversity.

Now let us move our divisions in the other direction towards the opposite corner of the rectangle (Fig. 7).

Notice that there are more people who have capital, the triangle of opportunity is greater, those of elimination are smaller, more of the producing class have families, the sum total of production is

greater, less of the product is wasted, and there is a fairer distribution among the capitalists and on the



FIG. 7

whole among both classes. As the change approaches the limit it is constantly for the better, until finally

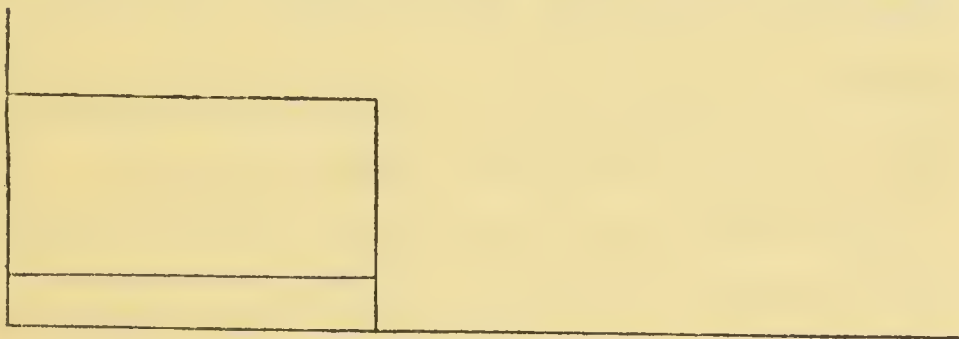


FIG. 8

there is equal capital, equal opportunity, abundance for all, no elimination and no waste. This is the Socialist millennium, "the brotherhood of man." There is only one social and economic class. Everyone works and everyone has an equal share in the product.

Now, as has been shown at length, the chief objections to the competitive capitalistic system of production are from the point of view of pedagogy.

It does not, never did, and cannot under any conditions that anyone has ever suggested, provide, from the side of heredity or environment, such good conditions for bringing up children as the old-fashioned agricultural life at its best. From most other points of view it is a gain for humanity. It has enabled us to reduce the cost of most commodities to a fraction of what it was. It has stimulated effort in all directions; in the higher activities as well as in the material. Men have gladly given their best effort in all these lines, in the first place for their own interests, in the second place for those of their families, and sometimes, if they attain to sufficient breadth of mind and heart, for the sake of the largest group which they can understand: their clan, their country, and finally the whole human race.

That mankind has been abundantly capable of this needs no proof; the history of every war teaches it.

The private control by an individual of more capital than is needed to supply his individual wants is fully justified if he is to manage the revenues of a family. In simple conditions, where he must be manager as well as capitalist, he is not likely to acquire enough to constitute a monopoly, and where undeveloped resources are accessible to all, the prosperity of each is to the advantage of all.

But as soon as a static condition is approached—that is, as soon as society begins to develop modern city life—then so long as a purely selfish motive

is recognized as lawful, private ownership in means of production becomes dangerous. This is recognized, of course, but no remedy has been found which does not imply a change in motive from individual to racial selfishness—a recognition that the individual interest is best served by giving each member all the opportunity possible, and consequently preventing others from standing in his way.

It is often said that a man who would be entirely moral if his individual interests only were concerned, will lie and cheat and steal for the sake of his family. A man who has no family is a much freer moral agent. Now suppose that the material wants of every individual were sure to be supplied, thus removing all incentive to immorality, so far as he himself is concerned, and that he had no family, but were organized with others into a body with a standard of discipline and *esprit de corps*, in which it is a matter of course that the interest of the whole group is paramount. Would not everyone prefer joint capitalism as a matter of course? And if you leave for the fecund class the old systems of family holdings of real estate, with due safeguards that they shall be managed by the holder so as to keep clear of the capitalist and proletarian, is not that the best for them? And does not this division of the question help to clear up the whole matter, on which there is so much disagreement?

Of course all articles of strictly personal property,

clothing, instruments of any occupation practised as work or recreation (musical, for instance), and all products of industries which are not for strictly material use (such as works of art) would still belong to the individual during his lifetime, and then, if suitable for another's individual use, pass to a new user; otherwise go to the scrap-heap, or, if of historical or educational value (like a painting by a renowned artist) revert to the community, or in case of the fecund class, to the family.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIALISM

WHAT is the outcome of the present condition and tendencies of society? What is the best thing that a person can claim who believes that it must develop from its present state on the basis of a capitalist and an employee class, actuated by motives of self-interest, but intelligent, and willing to compromise so far as necessary to make living possible, and that agriculture as well as other forms of production can be brought under the system, and a way found to perpetuate the race under such conditions?

It would seem that the tendency from the situation represented in Figure 3 is to something like the following:

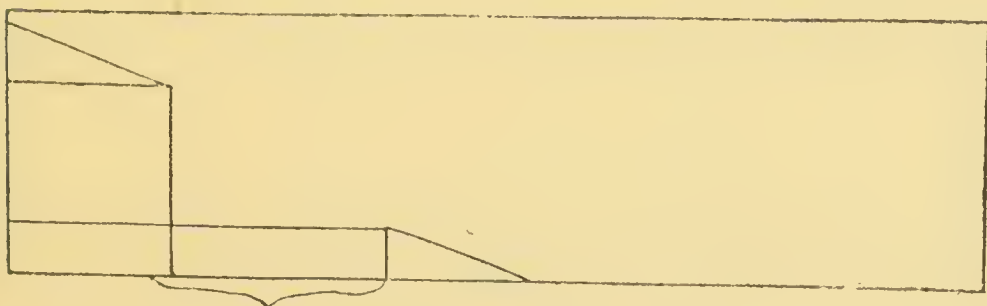


FIG. 9

The two classes become entirely separated. It is evident that the employee class must have enough of the product to enable them to support families, or things cannot be kept going. Intelligence sufficient to meet the conditions would be essential in the employee class as far as the line extends to full height; none is necessary in the capitalist class, except for the few who are managers; there would be a triangle of elimination for each class, which by education and careful adjustment might be made constantly smaller. So long as there is room for expansion, the capitalists would gain in relative share of the product, but probably not much in numbers; the other class would gain rapidly in numbers, but of course not at all in the share of the product.

As new resources are opened the capitalists would be of course in possession of them, and develop them on an economic basis favourable to themselves. This would continue until they reached the limit of numbers necessary to work all the available means for production. The conditions would then be as in Figure 10.

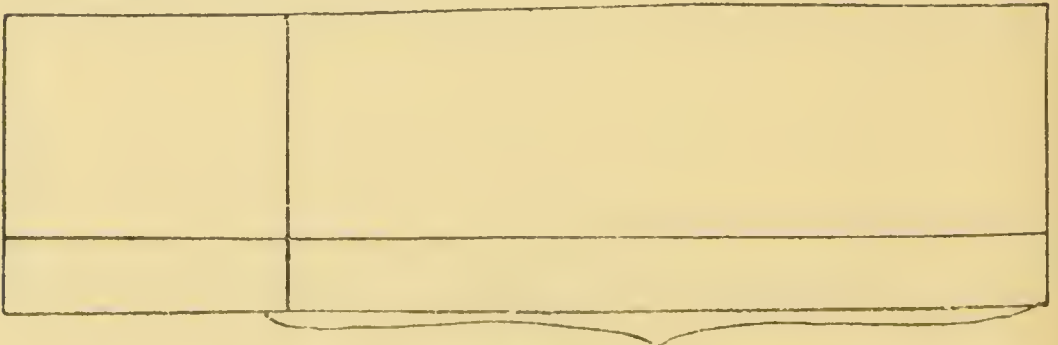


FIG. 10

There would be a large employee class living in whatever degree of comfort they have been able to obtain from the capitalists, who would be fewer in number and have a very large margin of luxury and reserve capital. As pressure increased this margin would become less. We can represent the state of things after a fashion by raising the line of the possible family minimum.

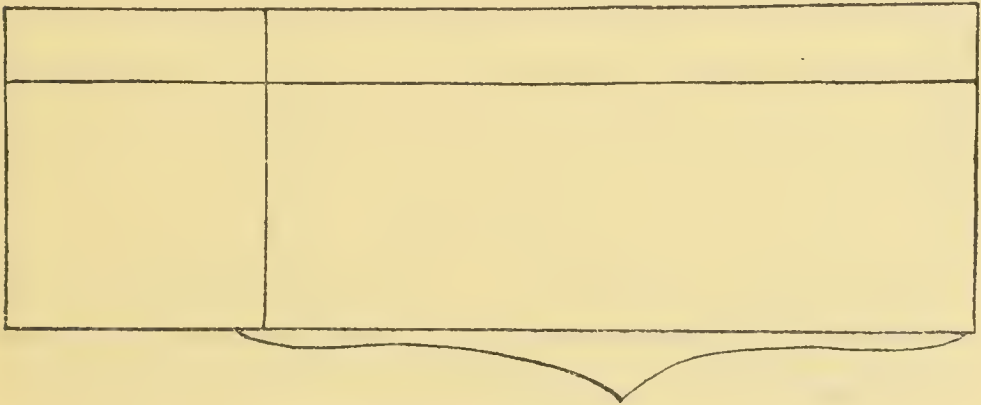


FIG. 11

It would finally disappear altogether, and then capitalist and employee would be on an equal basis of necessity.

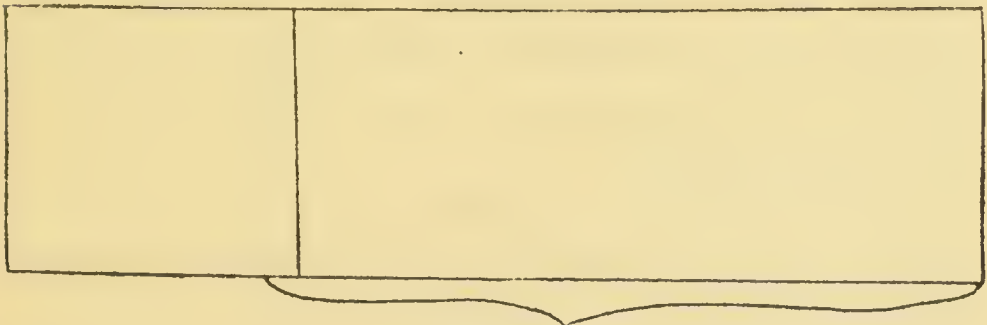


FIG. 12

Competition would now come in again between man

and man, without any advantage for the capitalist, and those below the full measure of intelligence would be eliminated. The others would be in no different position from the employees, and so there would be a complete "brotherhood of man" on the basis that all stand together on the brink of starvation.

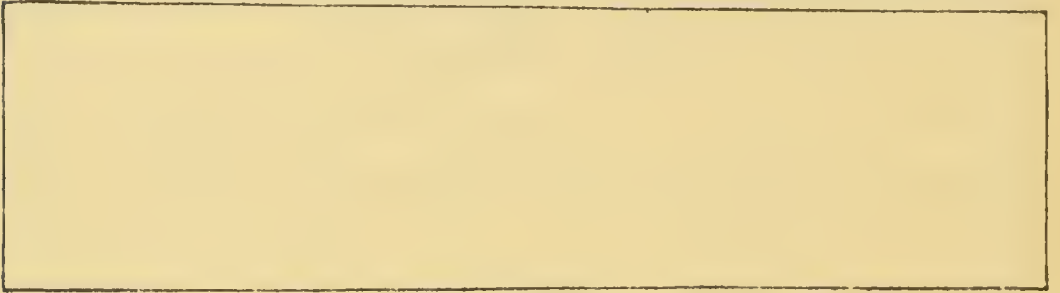


FIG. 13

Any further increase in numbers would cause a return to savagery or else an immediate and thorough understanding of the problem of reducing numbers. In the latter case a margin of comfort will reappear, but the lesson would have been learned, by such severe experience that it would never be forgotten, that the welfare of the whole must be considered before that of the individual or the family. This is the race consciousness of the higher selfishness, which is necessary for a social revolution out of our present stage.

The most general expression for the Socialist ideal seems to be that represented in Figure 8. All the various shades of Socialists seem to be striving for something of the kind, though none of them have brought forward any way of attaining it which seems

likely to supersede the old process by which humanity has advanced: education, free discussion, fair compromise when agreement is impossible and action is necessary—and then patience and more education. Moreover, this is the ideal which everyone has for all the people whom he recognizes as completely in the same group with himself. The size of the group which comes into his idea of the brotherhood of man, theoretically and practically, is a pretty fair indication of how far he has got in the evolution of the race. We must not forget that a great many of the race firmly believe that, since there are now a great many men who are unfit to be brethren to them, it must always be so, and that the time will never come when there will not necessarily be classes of inferiors, who do not deserve to be anything but the servants of the others, and must go on breeding other generations equally inferior. It would be strange if such belief were not general, considering that there was not a working majority of the race against chattel slavery until 1865.

The good that Socialism is doing is in emphasizing the fact that there can be no final solution of the problem of human life until all humanity comes in for equal consideration. Let us give them all credit for this, dismiss for the moment all the criticisms which are so easy to make from a practical point of view, and suppose we had what they want: perfect equality in the distribution of wealth, universal and

equal intelligence, universal and equal willingness to work and to share the results.

Socialism belongs essentially to modern industrial conditions. Socialists are mostly of the employee class. The yeoman cares little for the doctrine. It is striking to notice how much their conceptions and ideas of life are derived from the kind of life they know. For instance, if you have read Bellamy's "Looking Backward" you may remember how everyone was to live where no one need carry an umbrella—the public management put awnings over where everybody had to go. Agriculture was to be carried on in some dismal outer limbo by young men of the industrial army, who submitted to the necessary evil because food must be had from somewhere, but returned to city civilization as soon as possible. Of course this is extreme, and many socialistic writers recognize the advantages of country life; but in general, if they consider agricultural production they bring it under the same system as all other production; everything is to be done by "capital and labour" in distinct functions, only there is to be no individual capitalist. The total product is to go into a general pool, from which it is to be drawn by the individuals in equal shares.

Now one of the reasons which the Socialists urge for this equalization of products is that every man will be enabled to have a normal family and provide properly for his children. They fall back on the

statistical fact referred to on page 90, that if everybody were treated alike each man could provide for his material wants by a few hours' work, and therefore would have abundance for a wife and children. Let us look at the possibilities of this. Take once more our graphic representation.

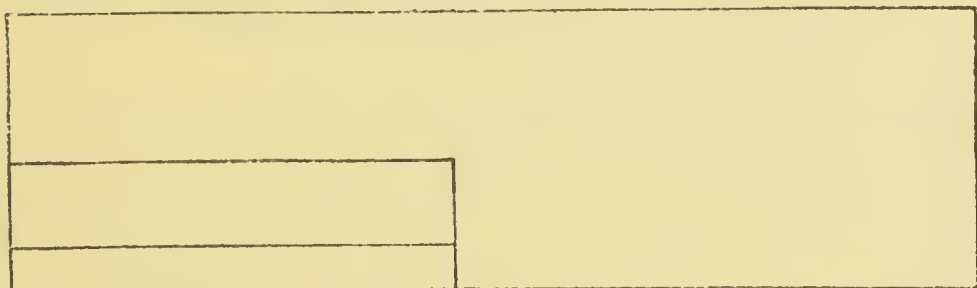


FIG. 14

This represents approximately the amount of the world's food resources (18 per cent, according to the estimate referred to in the introduction) now used, at present rates of production and consumption. With the Socialist ideal there would, of course, be no elimination of population, but continuous expansion; probably so rapidly that the margin of available products over the necessities for families would go down considerably, since the proportion of children, who are non-producers, would rise. The expansion would then be represented thus:

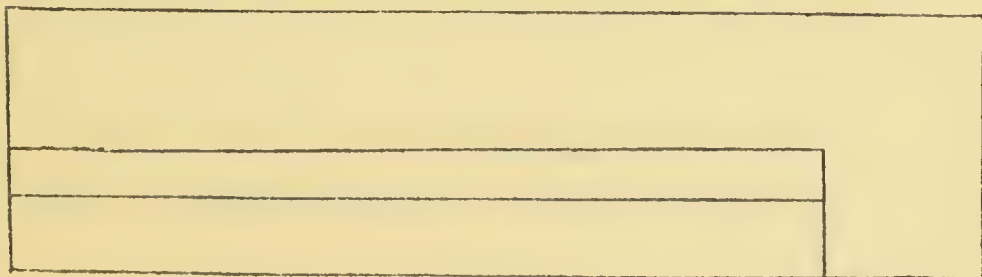


FIG. 15

The limit of horizontal extension—representing enough people to work all the land—would soon be reached, and the development would continue as represented by vertical extension of the population area in the diagram, with a margin of comfort tending to decrease; as the limit is approached the form would be as in Figure 16.

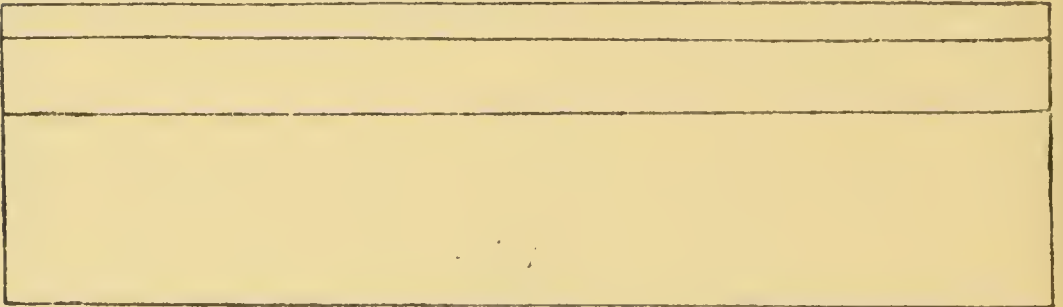


FIG. 16

Then would follow, as in the capitalistic development (Figures 12 and 13), complete extinction of the margin, and universal want, only to be remedied by intelligent reduction of numbers, or by return to savagery.

If everyone could easily support a family, and expected to have one, it is hardly likely that less than four children would be the average number brought to maturity. This means a doubling of the population in thirty years, as against sixty at the present time. This would mean a full use of the world's food supply, on the present basis, by 1980, and the necessity for finding means for doubling it by 2010.

The fact is that material prosperity alone has

never in the world's history brought an increase in the happiness of the average individual. Real well-being is a matter of mind rather than of body. The sound mind cannot exist, of course, without the sound body, but mental and moral sanity is a matter of slow growth from one generation to another. Material adversity cramps and hinders this growth, to be sure; but, on the other hand, if men get material prosperity beyond what they can make a wise use of, they will make a foolish use of it, and spend their time in the pursuit of the things typified by the jackatoo feathers in our allegory, instead of learning to live better.

This is just the weak side of our wonderful modern development of production, transportation, and credit. It makes life so easy that we forget that there is a limit to the world's resources, and are rushing on toward the Malthusian limit at an accelerating pace, without taking thought of the problems before us. There is none too much time left to learn the conditions and be prepared for a static social stage, before it will be upon us. Now private capital and competition are doing great service for the race by holding back the current, and forming, though at the cost of great waste, a reservoir of resources, which can be drawn upon in dire necessity, and also by giving a constant object-lesson in keeping before our eyes the knowledge of more or less of the race who would be better off if their

numbers were kept down. Socialism wishes by distributing these resources to hasten the current and so precipitate the crisis; which means a cataclysm unless men can be educated to meet it before it comes. It is like applying homœopathic treatment to a high fever.¹

¹ Let us suppose that there is a mountain region drained by streams which unite into a river, which flows through a relatively small valley, which is cleared and cultivated. All the slopes above the valley are heavily wooded, and below is a gorge with a rapid fall. There has grown up a community, largely of farmers in the valley, but also with some factories using the power of the stream below to produce goods from the timber of the forest above. The farmers feed the mill hands and foresters, and the product is exported in exchange for clothing and other desirable things not produced locally. The industry flourishes, and there is power enough to give work to more than the farmers can feed. They begin to import food. Soon the demand for timber exceeds the annual growth of the forest, and the mountains are stripped bare. The result is that the river no longer flows steadily, but there are devastating floods in the spring and after rain, and not enough water for the mills at other times. These floods also bring deposits on the agricultural land and lessen its amount and value. To remedy the floods a huge dam is built, forming a reservoir at the cost of a large part of the remaining farm land, but enabling the water to be regulated, so that there is no more danger of the floods, and a steady supply for the mills.

Now your short-sighted revolutionist, who sees that things are wrong in some way, and that the dam is ruining agriculture, wants to blow it up and let things go on as best they can. The believer in individual capitalism would build the dam still higher and impound every drop of water to use for the factories. The Socialist would enlarge the waterwheels and run the mills at full blast as long as the water lasts, and trust in the Lord for future supply. Of course, the wise man, of whatever shade of belief, who has studied the conditions thoroughly, would re-forest the mountains with all speed, so that the flow may be uniform, the silting up of the farm lands stopped, and the reservoir unnecessary; at the same time he would use things as they are so long as they are necessary, and gradually lower the dam and increase the agricultural area as the conditions allowed.

Our answer to Socialism then is remarkably clear and emphatic: Socialism represents, even more than individual capitalism, the logical extreme of modern capitalistic production. This system is an economic gain for the individuals of the current generation, but it and the city life which it inevitably brings are bad for the bringing up of children, for reasons already discussed at length. It requires a specialist type of man, who is likely to be either not valuable enough or too valuable to be used as a breeder. Not that any man is born too good for this purpose, but by the time men, and especially women, of high endowment in the industrial life have reached the age for founding a family, they are likely to have specialized so far in other directions that they are better fitted for something else, quite aside from the fact that they must spend too much time away from the children.

The whole trend of capitalistic industrialism is toward the emphasizing of the relations of the individual to society, to the neglect of the family unit. The type of woman developed is pre-eminently D as the moral type, with great danger of developing type B, both tending to weaken and lessen the normal type A. Now it is not entirely paradoxical to say that Socialism tends to emphasize still more this individualistic trend of industrialism. The Socialist leaders themselves say that their ideal is to attain the fullest individual freedom consistent with

the welfare of the whole group. The best ideal type of woman they can give us is AD. This is the proletarian type of the present system. It is better than the AB of the capitalist class, but no way has been shown to make it as good a type for mothers as the old-fashioned type A.

In the light of our theory, then, Socialism, with its allied labour organizations, represents the development of the phenomena of a surplus class, and means that the society wherever it appears is approaching a static condition. The Socialists are generally those who would be better off themselves, and leave society better off, if they would frankly turn their energies as individuals towards the welfare of the group as a whole, and leave the propagation of the race to others who are in a better position for producing good offspring. The Socialist ideals, which are practically those of our theoretical surplus class, and are hopelessly above anything like the present condition of humanity, are not unthinkable as a working possibility for those who are willing to pay that price for them.

CHAPTER XVII

ANARCHISM AND THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT

THE ultimate ideal of the Anarchist (not the bomb-thrower, but the thinker) or the individualist, if the word Anarchist leaves a bad taste in your mouth—is practically the same as that of the Socialist, or, as already pointed out, that of everyone for his own social group. The philosophical Anarchist, as well as the Socialist, is ahead of the rest of mankind in that he extends the benefit of his ideals to the whole race.

He, too, desires the fullest individual freedom consistent with the welfare of the whole group. The Socialist wants to attain this ideal by restraining the individual through group action; the Anarchist by encouraging individuality and leaving group action until experience shows its necessity.

Of course, no two people can live near each other without the necessity of an understanding about matters which affect them both; and this extends to any larger group which is affected in common by any set of conditions, up to the whole human race. That there should be some such agreement is of course acknowledged by all. The Anarchist

holds no brief against such action, but against the abuses which in the existing state of things have grown up through imperfect human nature in concrete instances. What they object to in government, as it is, is the opportunity for one class of men to control the actions of another class. If government could be made to do directly and solely that which is the only reason for its existence—the business management of affairs which concern a whole group—they might prefer not to call it government, but they could have no objection surely to the public business being done. But that is what government is if stripped of all its extraneous features.

An ordinary prosaic piece of business, affecting a small group of equal intelligence and equal understanding of the subject, is always handled in much the same way. Suppose a number of farmers live in the same valley, all knowing the conditions, and all knowing each other. They will surely have some kind of mutual understanding about matters of common use and interest, and more than likely will have some democratic form of regular organization for doing group business. Suppose a new road or bridge is needed; they will meet and decide on what kind of a road or bridge they will have, and how much they will spend, who shall do it, and how and when it shall be done. If the question is not so simple that all details can be settled at once, there will be a commission appointed to in-

investigate details and report to the general body. If it is not done by the joint work of all the people concerned, someone will be commissioned to carry out the work. If any conflict of rights arises, someone will be appointed to decide the issue.

These functions might be exercised by three different sets of men, or the whole matter, if simple enough, might be given to one commission, which, after the work is done, ceases to act. This is something like the ideal of the extreme individualists for all kinds of group business.

The fact is, however, that some kinds of public business in civilized countries require constant attention, and it is a saving of energy to have specially trained persons in regular charge.

This leads to the establishment of a distinct class to whom public business is entrusted. Now certain kinds of public business are so important that they give such a class the opportunity to acquire power over other classes and use it to their own advantage. This is especially the case when the business is war, where success depends upon thorough discipline and submission of the many to a few competent leaders. In early history the groups were almost always in a chronic state of actual or threatened warfare, and a strong military organization was necessary.

Still more important in some respects in the history of the evolution of the race is the matter of religion or cult. When it was believed that every human

interest was controlled directly by supernatural powers which could be influenced by human action, the most important public business was supposed to be that of the relations with these powers. The truth or falsity of the belief makes no difference with the opportunity of those supposed to be experts in such matters, to control the action of others. All students of history know that in the early stages of civilization the function of government which occupied the most time and attention of the people was the priestly function. This and the military tend to build up a class of those having special knowledge of the details in their department, which can by moral or physical control of the other classes get a larger share than they in the material resources belonging to the group.

As civilization has advanced and intelligence become more general, the truth has been more and more widely recognized that religion is a matter for the individual, and in the most enlightened countries to-day the state no longer attempts practically to carry on religious functions, though in many cases there are important survivals of the forms.

The military function, however, is still a present necessity, though the world is fast outgrowing that also. The plain business function, which in the early days played a very slight part, is coming in modern times to claim a large and increasing share of government activities. This function is much

better adapted than the others to the plan of managing ordinary routine business by clerical bureaus, and meeting special contingencies as they arise by commissions appointed for the purpose. There is generally plenty of time to make a careful quantitative study of all the conditions and keep the whole group informed so that there may be intelligent interest and action when necessary.

To repel an invasion it may be necessary for all the resources of the state to be brought into play within a few days; to drain the Zuyder Zee, or build up a national system of waterways, may take more than a generation.

It is interesting to observe how the habit of mind induced by the extension of this function of government, namely, the doing of public business in a patient commonsense way, has extended to the military function in modern times. There is much less fuss and feathers about army matters and more practical attention to the details of the business on a commonsense basis. The same habit goes far to help the abandonment by the state of all dealings with religion, which is, of course, something with which common sense has nothing to do.

Of course, the ideal of public business done with the full knowledge and expressed consent of all concerned is only possible where all concerned can be informed and all have sufficient intelligence, understanding of the particular case to be dealt with, and

time to give it due consideration. This is possible only in a small intelligent community with comparatively simple conditions, like a Swiss canton or a New England township. Wherever there are more complex conditions, or a class in the community of lower grade of intelligence, some of the business must be done without knowledge of its details, or even in many cases of its general significance, by any but a small part of the group concerned.

Now, the best intellect and the best knowledge that the human race has attained is none too good for the complicated problems that arise and increase in difficulty as civilization advances. The average of humanity has not at any age of the world been able to deal with these problems so well as picked men specially trained for the work. If human nature were perfect, such men would give their best efforts to the management of the public business and take no greater share of the benefit than their degree of intelligence warranted. Unfortunately, however, if a class has been established forming a special social group within the larger group whose interests as a whole are to be managed, such a class has, almost without exception, tried to perpetuate itself as a socially distinct and more highly privileged division of the group. There was a time when this could be done by direct military force and other classes could be enslaved; but in modern civilization private warfare and slavery have been abolished, and the power

of the ruling class tends to take the form of capitalism. In monarchical governments the danger is in the control by the hereditary ruling class of the means of production for their own interest; in republican, the control by dishonest means of the elected legislators by the capitalists, who thus become the real rulers.

Now, what has the theory of the static condition to say on this subject? Recall the postulate on which alone such a condition is possible: practically equal density of population, and universal peace. With no danger of aggression from without and no need for foreign commerce in the main food supply, there would be no need for such definite national organizations as we have to-day. Each local group would be free to work out its own problem, and larger interests could be administered in co-operation to whatever extent they were found to prevail. The unit of administration would be a group of families of the fecund class, with whatever land, under the management of the surplus, applied to other uses, came naturally into interdependence with theirs.

All work except that of the fecund class being done by and for the group, there would be no line drawn between the functions now performed by the government and any other work. The whole problem of industrial production and distribution would be to provide for the wants of each group with the least effort. The question of the size and location

of each group with reference to each specific industry would depend upon this principle. With this question settled for any individual group, the work would be organized just as that of any great industry is organized to-day: most of it done as it is by regular employees, with managers chosen for their executive ability by the stockholders, who would be in the supposed case all the adult members of the body politic. Of course, in the surplus class, every one having an equal share in the public interests should have equal rights to vote, without distinction of sex.

Of course, all this work would be done by the surplus class; the fecund class has other duties, even more important perhaps, but confined to a specific narrow sphere, which is within the general scope of the total activities, but so related to them that the families do not need to concern themselves with the larger general interests, but can leave them to those whose special function they are. They can safely do this because the members of the surplus, as stated on page 51, have no personal or family interest to serve, and cannot build up a class whose interests are different from those of the fecund class. In matters of local importance, of course, the fecund class would co-operate and decide questions by vote; and here we get at the philosophy of "manhood suffrage" as a matter of course. The family is the unit, and each family should be equally represented in such voting: whoever represents the family should have

the franchise. There would necessarily be some such representative, and that is what the present system of male suffrage means. Woman suffrage agitation means that where it appears, the static condition is approaching, and the individual unit is struggling for recognition.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF THE THEORY IN PRACTICE

WHAT could be the result of a serious attempt to put society on the basis of this two-class theory? Not that its fullest ideal can ever be realized, any more than Socialism, or Christianity, or statute law can be made to work perfectly; but the best method for the study of any theory is to assume the logical extreme and see, if we can, whether changes in the direction of that extreme are good, and if so, how far they are practicable.

Assume then that it were regarded as desirable, and that society should set out to change from the present state to a clean-cut two-class basis. It has been said that this basis seems to be Nature's method of dealing with the problem when pressure of population has become great, and that many of the movements and tendencies of the times are explained by it. Some other movements and tendencies are accounted for in the light of a discussion of the possible methods of making the change suggested.

The Socialists say that it is wrong for one man to have more of the material good things of life than

another. The individualists say that it is wrong for one man to have power to restrain another man from doing or not doing what he pleases; the logical extremes of both, of course, subject to commonsense modifications. The present capitalistic method of production is objectionable from both points of view, and some of its dangers are recognized by all shades of belief, but in the light of our theory there appears a deeper danger than the unequal distribution of wealth: capitalistic production is bad for the race because it tends to put life on the basis of the individual unit, and makes sound family life difficult.

Note that the two most noticeable evils in the capitalistic system tend to develop and strengthen each other. There are men who have too much, and that implies that there are other men, and a great many of them, who have too little. It is bad in the long run, in many cases, for the quality of the race that the capitalists have too much; it is bad immediately, and all the time, that the proletarians have too little. Now the Socialist, who represents the proletarian, feels this immediate evil and wants to remedy it by abolishing the capitalist, or rather, perhaps, by making the proletarian a capitalist and giving him another generation or two before he is eliminated. As shown in the chapter on the subject, their plan simply tends to reduce the race to an average standard of intelligence and prosperity, which they cannot guarantee will be

higher than the present average, and to go on increasing in numbers until the limit of food supply is reached.

Now our theory asks: why not begin at the other end of the difficulty and try to solve the problem by abolishing the proletariat? Let us look at it by our graphic method. Suppose in Figure 4 we cut off the portion at the right of the line which divides the two currents in the employee class. This would be the effect of establishing a carefully selected fecund class and leaving sterile those of the industrial proletariat.

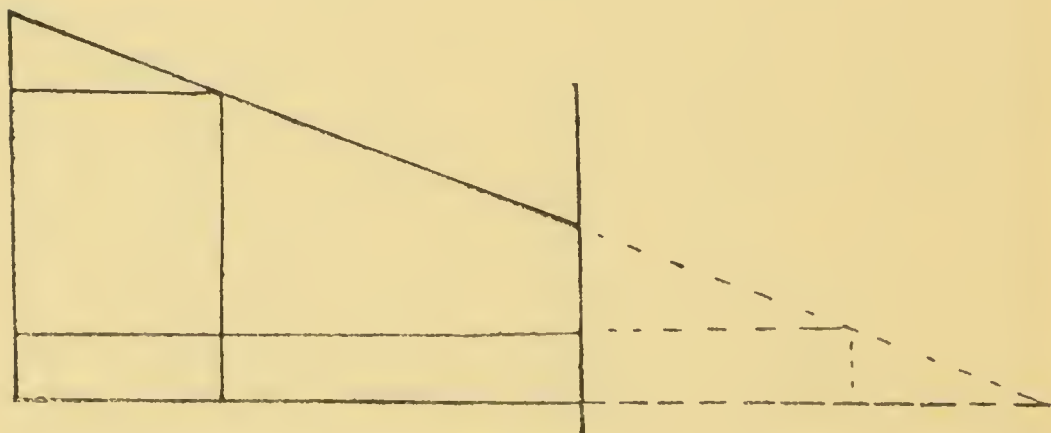


FIG. 17

Suppose it diminishes the numbers of the whole group by one-third; it will not diminish the total production to the same extent, since those eliminated would be less efficient producers than the others. Those left would be of superior intelligence: the best of the employee class and the former capitalist class, who, as things are, are without question superior

in intellect and will-power to the proletarian; they are the immediate descendants of the most intellectual of the employee class, who are again from the best of the yeoman stock. The man "whose face has grown hard and his body soft, whose son is a fool and his daughter a foreign princess" is not by any means so numerous in this class as he is conspicuous. These men of superior intelligence, having no ignorant cheap labour, would be obliged to find means for getting the mechanical work done. They would, of course, do with their hands what they must, but there would be great stimulation of the inventive faculties to devise improvements in the use of power, and there would probably very soon develop a total product quite as large as before to be divided among a smaller number of people. The average of wealth and intellect would be much higher, and there would be a greater margin of comfort.¹

Every step in the direction of eliminating the proletarian would tend towards such a state of things, just as surely as every step in the direction of Socialism would tend towards the lowering of the margin of comfort without raising the average standard of intelligence. Now, suppose that we continue this process until we get a steady current of uniform high intelligence, which would ultimately give us,

¹ Note that the change in the diagram is in the direction of the ideal state that is represented in Figure 8.

in theory, uniform distribution of wealth and a very high margin of comfort. With the numbers under control, the expansion of population could be made to go on at whatever rate seemed best, allowing as large a margin of comfort as is necessary for general welfare.

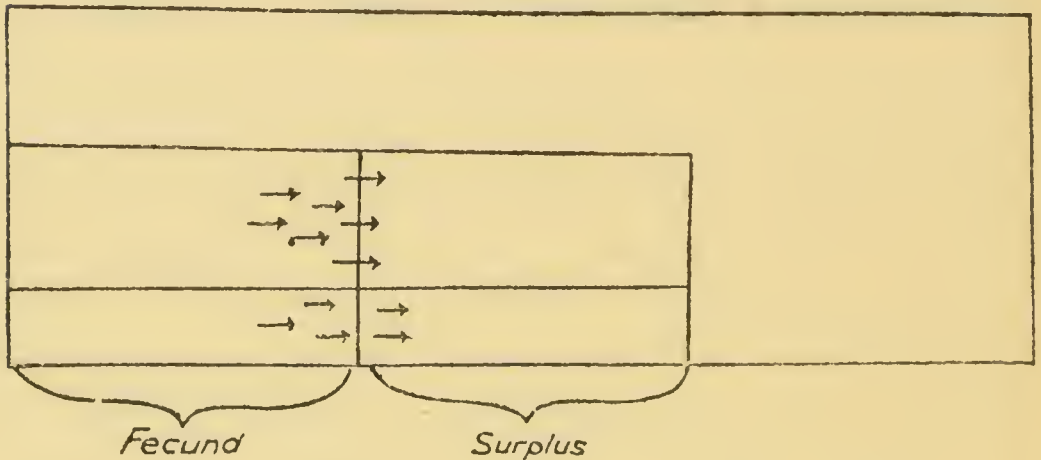


FIG. 18

Now, suppose we assume that this equal distribution were reached, with a large margin, and draw a vertical line in Figure 8 representing a division between the fecund and the surplus class. Both classes would share in the margin of comfort; both would be, on our theory of ten children to a family, about equal as to numbers. The currents would flow simply and evenly from the fecund to the surplus class. Expansion would continue until the lands were fully populated at the standard of living desired, which could be kept at any level of the margin of comfort,

and checked whenever necessary so as to keep birth- and death-rates equal.

FIG. 19

Now, if after that it seemed that the ideal of family life for the whole race were more desirable, it could be approached by diminishing the number of children in a family, and thus the relative numbers of the surplus class,

FIG. 20

until finally there would be only one class for all humanity, with complete equality in all respects, which would have been reached without going through a crisis of universal distress.

CHAPTER XIX

DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW COUNTRY ON A TWO-CLASS BASIS

SUPPOSING that we have this ultimate static condition in mind from the beginning of the settlement of a new country. Assume that somewhere on the eastern slope of the Andes a well-defined drainage basin can be found, practically uninhabited, and is to be settled with a population to be differentiated as soon as possible into a fecund and a surplus class. The first step would be, of course, to take a general inventory of the resources of the region, its natural transportation routes, its climatic conditions. It would be easy to find the best land for the families and locate the first of them there, selecting the stock with the greatest care, and allowing no one to get a foothold on any part of the land who is not qualified for parentage. It is possible in the present state of the science of physical and commercial geography to say almost to a certainty where the chief commercial city of the future will be. A city would be established in such a place; its inhabitants, after it had attained some size, would be employed in industrial and educational activities, and in transportation.

In the present condition of the world such a new country would be sure to export agricultural products and import other necessities. The first interest of the inhabitants should be to obtain the best immigrants for the families, and extend the territory for them as fast as possible, building up a sound yeoman class. If agriculture extended faster than it could be handled by them, and capitalistic production were employed in it, this should be done with full knowledge of its meaning and tendency, and the land used for the purpose should be held by the community. If circumstances led to the employment of the capital and labour of those not members of the colony, these lands should be leased, not sold, thus preventing individual capitalistic control. All labourers on such lands should be strictly of the surplus class.

As soon as possible a complete quantitative study of all the resources of the country should be made, the number of inhabitants it will support ascertained, and as soon as that number is reached, no more families should be established. After that time foreign commerce would be confined to the importation of commodities which are desired by the people but not produced in the region, to be paid for by any mineral or other product of which there is a surplus for export; if food is exported, of course, the number of families must be smaller.

All institutions belonging to the social conditions

as discussed in Chapter XII, would, of course, grow up naturally in due time. The whole process would be very close to what goes on at present, only more rationally observed and regulated, with the important exception that the tendency at present in settling new countries is to look for "capital and labour" to the neglect of the building up of a sound yeoman class. It is significant that in some of the new countries to-day the percentage of urban population, which should be very small if the yeoman class had due predominance, is higher than in some of the old countries. Most of this capital, too, is foreign, handled by managers who borrow from the old countries, or even by employees of foreign corporations. These enter the labour market of the world and generally get cheap labour, often by races which are alien and not suitable to form a yeoman class.

As a matter of fact, if these do remain in the country, and have children, it is rare that the children gain a foothold; they remain in the cities and in time are eliminated. The immigrants who acquire land and join the yeoman class are generally of a stock which will amalgamate with the original settlers.¹

¹ For instance, in the United States, very few of the foreign-born population outside the cities are of other than the Germanic race. In 1900 just about half of the foreign-born in the country were in cities, against thirty-one per cent of the total population; and those of other than Germanic stock in the country districts are chiefly proletarian labourers.

Our theory would simply recognize these facts and aid Nature by making cleaner work. This is the procedure by which all dealing with the growing forces of Nature should be done. These forces in general have unlimited potentiality in the way of development, but Nature is wasteful, and intelligence can direct the forces chiefly by foreseeing and preventing waste. That this is possible in breeding the human species admits of no doubt; only in dealing with this problem, the danger is in overdoing the work of regulation and regulating in the interests of one class to the disadvantage of the others.¹

All movements in this line have been, and are, and rightly so, conservative. Here, even, more than almost anywhere else, the education of public opinion up to practical unanimity is desirable before active measures are taken.

¹ There is a special problem of this kind before the race just now. It is for the interests of the capitalists to have as plenty and as cheap labour as possible. This means that it is for their interest to have as many as possible of the proletarian class just on the brink of starvation, without intelligence enough to uphold their rights to a fair share of the products. If things are in such a state, or tending towards it, the remedy is not in increasing the numbers and powers of the proletariat and endeavouring to get a larger share from the capitalist by force. If there must be an organization of the proletarian class, the aim of the educated leaders should be to reduce its numbers and educate all its members, and to educate also the capitalist to a true understanding of the situation, and bring about gradually a just compromise without violent changes. The value of discussion in this field is to bring out into the open and put on the defensive the man who says that he and his class are, and ought to be, better, and hence have, and ought to have, more of the good things of life than the others.

CHAPTER XX

OVERPOPULATED COUNTRIES

IN a new country the problems are chiefly qualitative. In an overpopulated country, on the other hand, the quantitative side is of major importance. No thorough adjustment is possible till all the elements of the problem have been measured and the results studied in all their relations.

If, for instance, an overpopulated country like England were to be brought to the two-class basis, the first questions to be answered would be such as these :

What are the possibilities of the land for agricultural production? What is it producing now in the way of food supply, and how many people will this supply feed with things as they are at present? What are the possibilities for further production (1) by improved methods, (2) by increasing the area under production? Is it possible, by giving up certain luxuries, and using for food production any land now devoted to such luxuries, to increase the supply still further? How many more people can be supported in comfort by each such addition? How

much of the land, and where, is it best to devote to the location of the families?

What proportion of the population is now in a satisfactory yeoman condition, from which a fecund class can be developed? Who now controls the land which is best fitted for their use, and how can it be brought into their hands with justice to all concerned? What part of the population are proletarians, who should be prevented at once from further propagation?

Suppose it is found that the country is very far from ideal conditions. The yeoman class is nearly extinct, the land is held mostly by large proprietors, worked by proletarian tenants or employees, and much of it used for non-productive purposes, such as park and show grounds or game preserves. The factory system is highly developed, the labourer is poorly paid, crowded in cities, and going from bad to worse in each generation. The capitalists, including a hereditary aristocracy, are becoming relatively more powerful, and their ostentatious waste more insolent. The whole country is tending to become industrialized, living on imported food to a large degree, and stimulating factory production to pay for it.

Suppose it is a country of free speech, a free press, general literacy, and a people of good stock at bottom, with a sense of fair play and a sincere desire for the country's good. All classes are

thoroughly aroused by the dangerous tendencies of the day, and willing to do whatever is right and necessary, if they can only agree on what it is.

The common sense of such people has already begun to agree on what to do. The watchword is "Back to the land." Probably the greatest use of this book is to show what that means.

In one sense, it means that in the long run a country should feed itself. This is entirely true in principle, though there may be important exceptions in the final adjustment.¹

To many who know no life but the industrial, it is to be feared that "back to the land" means, for the capitalist, a luxurious country residence with a retinue of servants, perhaps a stable and pack of hounds and game preserves, with a certain amount of agriculture carried on by tenants. To the proletarian it may mean a division of all the property into smaller establishments on the same general principles, where he may work a few hours' day in the field, and come home to share with his children a generous supply of the grand sum total of this *panem et circenses*, of the people, by the people, and for the people, which will go on undiminished for his

¹ For instance, Northern Chili has no rainfall and, therefore, only extremely limited possibilities for agriculture, and yet contains some of the richest mineral deposits in the world. Some of the far northern countries have great possibilities for fisheries and other industries, but cannot raise grain.

four children, sixteen grandchildren, and so on *ad infinitum*.

“Back to the land” means salvation only if it means back to the yeomanry—back to a sound, intelligent, thrifty fecund class. Of course, our extreme theory is an exaggeration; but it differs little from the old actual ideals, except in the one proposition (with its corollaries) that the most important activity of such a class for the race is its work in producing men, and that a slight economic waste may be worth while if it helps to that end.

“Back to the land” for the race does not mean, except in rare cases, migration from the city to the country for any individual. It is well known that people brought up in industrial life do not know how to make a living in agriculture, and the immigrants from countries where the yeomanry are decadent, to new countries where there is every inducement to farm life, regularly fail to succeed in agriculture, and drift to the cities.

“Back to the land” means two things: it means careful conservation of whatever is sound in the yeoman stock which exists, giving it every opportunity for education and well being, and where feasible, encouragement of desirable immigration from similar stock in other countries; and it means checking the increase in the proletarian element in the industrial life (practically in the cities).

The logical extreme on this side—complete indi-

vidualism for the whole city population, has never in history been necessary, since mankind has always been in a potentially kinetic condition. When a complete static condition is reached it apparently will be necessary, at least as a proximate stage; and in the nearest approaches to that condition which exist, it is highly expedient in many cases already.

Now this question is worrying Mrs. Grundy and the clergy a great deal; but if you look things in the face and acknowledge that it is Nature's way of doing things to eliminate a surplus, that here is a surplus to be eliminated, that Nature will do it anyhow, that if we will study the conditions, we can often improve on Nature by making cleaner work; then the whole thing is simple and what to do is clear enough. It worries the good people simply because everything does that is new to them, and when they are educated to it, they will no longer be disturbed. Educating Mrs. Grundy and the clergy is the most praiseworthy, because it is the most difficult, task in human progress. Educating them on this matter belongs to a set of men who have often done good service in similar lines—the medical profession. Of course, there is no question that with or without resorting to surgical means they can even now control the matter. It is for them to study thoroughly the possibilities all along the line and see how it can be managed in the most humane and successful manner. Of course, it is managed now

pretty well by people of sufficient intelligence, as Mrs. Grundy knows very well; but this for the time being is the most serious part of the whole situation. It is those who should control the matter, who do not know how; and Mrs. Grundy and the clergy have rooted objections to their learning. This is a stumbling-block in the way of human progress which must be removed, and the sooner the better. Those who are capable of education must be educated, and others kept under control in some way by the power of the majority.

Of course, there are now in cities many who belong to what has been discussed in Chapter III under the name of the patrician class. The reason for the existence of such a class in history has been a very strong one. At the time when the bulk of the race were stationary, with very limited opportunity for knowledge of anything outside of their own narrow sphere, without knowledge of reading, or much to read if they had such knowledge, it was very important that someone should have wider opportunities. Such opportunities were given by the leisure and personal intercourse of such a class—opportunities which took the place to a large extent of the books and periodicals which are now accessible to all classes. With the invention of printing and general literacy, this necessity for a patrician class passed away. Another justification for such a class is the necessity for leaders in war, and so a ruling

class, as discussed in a previous chapter; but with constitutional government a fact and universal peace only a question of time, this reason is also gone; and the patrician class now is fast becoming practically identical with the capitalist class.

Nevertheless, as things are, there is no question that the bulk of the patrician class is of very good quality, and in a country in the condition we are considering contains better material for fecund families than the yeoman class. Where there is capital enough, where the mother belongs to type A, and the father's occupation is such that he can give some of his time to his children, this class is producing the best offspring that the conditions of the country allow. As suggested in Chapter III, there is an open question whether such conditions might not always be worth keeping for a certain number of the race. In any case, any plan for a transition period would have to make large provision for the "vested rights" of the class as it is. On the other hand, such a class has the obligation to make return for its better advantages in distinctly more useful men, and is justly subject to stern and sharp criticism if it fails in this. The great danger is that its women will be of type B, to the waste of time and money all round, and to the serious disadvantage of their children. It is the children of women of this type, the process of whose elimination furnishes matter for the yellow press.

It is a symptom that society is approaching the static condition, whenever women are employed in activities outside of the family; that is, whenever the woman of type D appears; also whenever man's wages (the element of competition of such women always entering into the question) become too low to allow the support of a family. If the old theory of the man as head of the family and a wage for him sufficient for the family is to be maintained, then, if the numbers of the race are to be kept up, he should have not less than two children, and should receive a wage at least four times as great as a woman, or as he needs for his own support.

If we could make regulations regarding the marriage relation and other matters which have been discussed hitherto, with a view to changing the state of society in cities to the co-operative system, with the individual unit, and at the same time allow for a patrician class so long as it could maintain itself, the logical extreme would be something like the following:

Make a sharp distinction between the two classes of marriages: those in which the woman is of type A and type D respectively. The woman of type B should be eliminated, and the worst class of that type—the woman who masquerades under the form of type A, should be made impossible. Before a marriage of type A is allowed, that is, before a young man proceeds “to found a family,” as the

phrase goes, he should be made to give evidence that he is earning four times as much as he is accustomed to spend, or that he and his intended wife have control of an income sufficient to make up such amount. In countries where there is an income-tax, this would be an easy matter. Only such couples should be allowed to set up a private establishment or keep servants.

Members of the individual class should be housed in the general establishments discussed in Chapter XII. Marriage would make no difference with their mode of life or their work. If a couple in this class became parents there should be severe penalties; perhaps sterilization of both parties, and certainly pecuniary contribution towards the support of the child, which should after lactation be transferred to a fecund family in the country.

Daughters of fecund families would be regarded as of type C, and remain at home as candidates for A, unless they chose, or on account of unfitness for A were required, to adopt type D. The sons should have the best educational advantages, but after the period of preparation for life, should receive no more income from the family capital unless they chose to marry and found a fecund family. Unless or until this happened, they should live the life and do the work of members of the surplus class. There should be the sharpest kind of scrutiny of the young people of both sexes as to their fitness for parentage; if

possible, sharper than in the yeoman class, since in the patrician class marriage of the unfit means a greater waste and so greater expense to the collectivity.

There are calls for a high sense of duty and altruistic action on the part of the patrician class (including in the term the professional and upper commercial classes in the city) if the yeoman class is in bad condition. It may be their duty to cede some of their rights as landlords; but, what is more important, they should be ready to have their sons and daughters brought up so far as possible in the country, trained in agricultural schools, and become members of the yeoman class.

As a practical matter during the transition stage, this latter class might also be recruited by sending to it sound children from the proletarian class who are orphaned, or who would otherwise be better off in the country in good care than in the city in such care as they seem destined to get.

Of course, from the point of view of our theory every attempt to alleviate the condition of the poor in cities is worse than useless if it encourages them to have children. When a man or child is in the world, the world owes him a living (provided he earns it) and owes him a reasonable preparation for life, and aid if he is the victim of circumstances, not of his own choosing, which make it impossible for him to do his part; but it does not owe him the

right to beget children unless he is in every way fit for it, and unless circumstances are such that the children are needed in the expansion of the race. Theoretically, of course, all sound children are needed for that so long as the Malthusian limit has not been reached; but practically in many parts of the world already the limit has been approached so closely that it is the duty of the individual in many cases not to have children, and the duty of society to see that he does not.

The ideal for the industrial life of the surplus class has been shown to be co-operation to the extreme limit which the Socialists put forward in their theories. This might conceivably be managed by private initiative, but practically everything points to the state as a convenient existing authority which can take charge of the whole matter. We are hearing it loudly proclaimed by the Socialists that all legislation touching the question is in their direction. They are pretty nearly right in their claim, and the tendency in the light of our theory is good, if it is going to lead to the full co-operation of a surplus class and the extinction of private capital, *if* due provision is made for the independence of the yeomanry. Income and inheritance taxes, government ownership of natural resources and control of industry, and old age pensions, are some of the manifestations of this tendency. It is also a passing of capital from private hands to the use of the collec-

tivity whenever a capitalist endows any educational or charitable institution for public use. The farther this goes, the more easily can things be adjusted, so as to change gradually and without hardship from the importation of food and exportation of manufactures to the home market plan, until finally the ideal of the whole nation fed by its own agricultural population is reached.

CHAPTER XXI

UNIVERSAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE process by which humanity has advanced so far has been somewhat as follows: Different groups which find that they have conflicting interests become hostile to each other. There is a clash, a contest for supremacy, victory by one party. In the crudest form this always means actual military warfare. In more advanced civilization it means a contest of intelligence. The groups are at first relatively small; as society becomes more complex, and the world more thickly settled, the interests are found to cover larger groups, and smaller groups unite into larger for defence of mutual interests against other large groups. Every time a larger group is formed from small ones, it is for the interest of the larger that there be no hostility between the smaller. War is always a waste; and that the larger group may be kept strong and united against external force such waste must be avoided. Therefore, it is the duty of individuals and smaller groups to avoid conflicts, and if such do arise, to settle them peaceably. This can be done by compromise, but is often better in the interests of justice to call in a third party, who can

view the matter impartially and decide the question fairly. The first time that this was done was one of the most important steps in the history of civilization. The next step is to provide a regular tribunal with power to decide controversies. Now if such a tribunal is set up voluntarily by the people whose interests it is to serve, it is another step in advance. If it is arbitrarily imposed by a stronger group or class upon a weaker, it is sure to be used for the advantage of the stronger; and if any group or class can get control of a tribunal ordinarily established by consent, this is liable to the same abuse. This is the practical argument of the Anarchist against all permanent forms of government. Yet substitution of such tribunals for physical force has, in spite of possible abuses, been the most potent means by which civilization has advanced. The existence of an ultimate tribunal makes people more likely to compromise fairly, and tends to prevent violence.

As soon as a group is organized against external danger, each member of the group and each smaller group within a larger is safeguarded in its own individual rights and is freer to develop in its own individual way. Every movement toward the recognition of mutual interests by a larger group is in the direction of progress. The movement to-day is towards a complete understanding and recognition of both mutual and rival interests by the whole human race. Of course, this does not mean by all members

of the human race, but by the intellectual leaders of all branches.

The management of group interests, whatever its outward form, is always conducted by a certain number of persons who are formally or tacitly selected for that purpose. These are subject to criticism and restraint, either formal or tacit, by a larger group who are in circumstances which allow them to know what the interests are, and intellectually able to form judgments as to how they should be managed. Besides these there is in most cases a third group who are passive, in that they know little or nothing of the relations of the action taken, and are subject to the other classes, either formally or by reason of the necessity of submitting to the judgment of those better informed. We may represent this graphically thus:

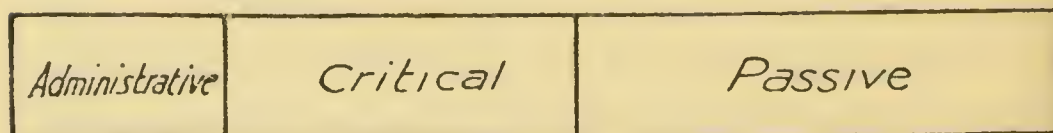


FIG. 21

According to the proportions of these different classes, and their formal organization, the different existing systems of government and other administration of group interests may be classified. In a despotic government the diagram would take shape somewhat as follows:

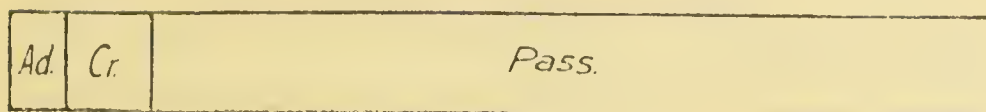


FIG. 22

The other extreme is hardly to be found in existing governments, but its form would be (considering only the adult population):

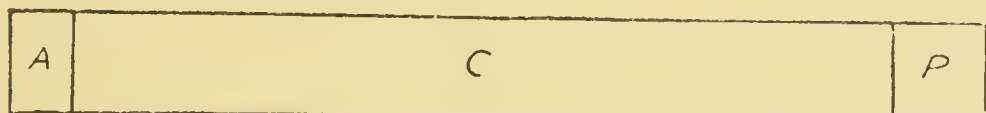


FIG. 23

This would represent a limited constitutional monarchy if education and intelligence were very widely prevalent. In republican government it would take somewhat different shape, as there is no permanent ruling class, but the administrators are chosen from among the critics. It might be represented as follows:

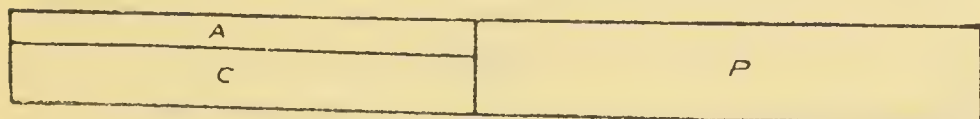


FIG. 24

In cases like a club of intelligent men, or a co-operative corporation, there would be no passive element, and the form would be the ideal of democratic government:

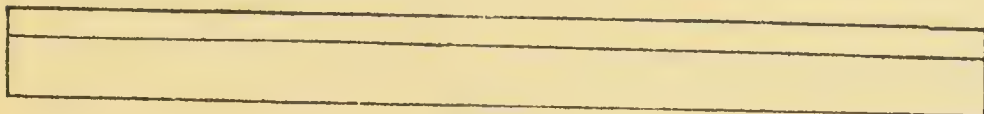


FIG. 25

Each of these is further modified by the relations of the electorate where there is representative administration. If we bracket the part which has the choosing of the administrative members of the group, we might represent, for instance, the theoretical absolute government thus:

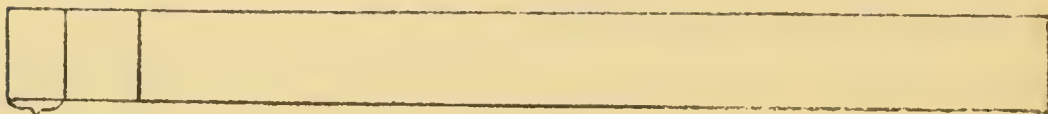


FIG. 26

The ideal constitutional monarchy:

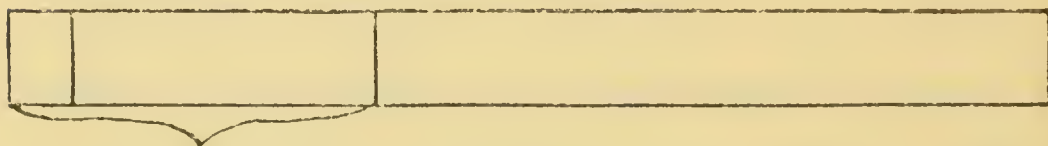


FIG. 27

The ideal republic:



FIG. 28

Monarchical government generally tends to be very conservative in extending the franchise; so that just now when education has become very general, we have cases where there are persons fit for the franchise who do not possess it.

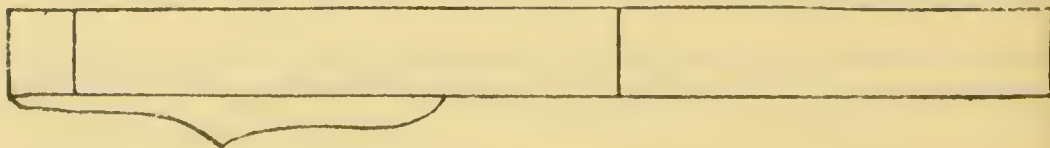


FIG. 29

The tendency in a republic is towards too little restriction of the franchise, so that persons may have the franchise who are not fit for it.

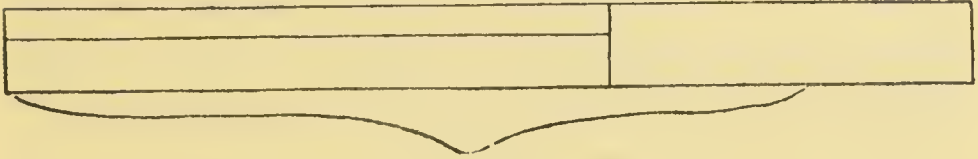


FIG. 30

This represents something like the conditions in the United States to-day. In such a case there is always the difficulty that the more intelligent must carry the weight of the ignorance of the others. They must either persuade or compel them to use their voting power for right purposes, and generally by presenting concrete questions of personalities and evident measures. It is thus not the numerical majority that controls, but what may be called a *dynamic* majority; powerful chiefly because of its knowledge of the questions to be dealt with and of the confidence on the part of the others in its ability. This dynamic majority must control; and if it cannot do so within the recognized forms, it is obliged to develop others, which often, if they are reasonable and good, come ultimately to have legal recognition.

In cases where general intelligence is not extended enough to control matters, there is always a reversion to what is practically monarchical or aristocratic government, either under legal forms, as in Rome under the Cæsars and France under Napoleon,

or tacitly, under a practical dictatorship, as in some of the South American countries to-day, or by "boss rule," as in the cities of the United States. Of course, such conditions give special opportunity for a practical but legally unrecognized ruling class to obtain unfair advantages. On the other hand, where education makes great advances in monarchical countries, there is constant change in the direction of democracy, peaceably, as in England and Scandinavia, or through a series of revolutions, as in France in the nineteenth century.¹

Whatever the outward form, before any group can establish a principle or a practice, it must be understood in its main outline and formally or practically accepted, not only by the thinking dynamic majority, but also by so many of the actual numerical majority that public opinion will easily coerce individuals who oppose it. There can be impressed by authority upon a people no political or social change which will be permanent, unless this condition is complied with. Before the present age, such a general understanding has never been reached with-

¹ It is most striking to notice how closely constitutional government as a working possibility goes hand in hand with general literacy. It is useless to adopt constitutional forms unless a working majority of the people are able to be informed as to group interests and to decide with a fair degree of justice on the main issues. Now, it is only in the smallest community, on local questions, that it is possible for such a majority to be informed, without the use of printing, either on the questions of the day, or on the principles upon which their solution depends.

out a conflict of the whole group with other groups ; and even now there is no way of getting united action so immediate as a war or a clash of interests between nations or groups. Is there anything which will give such a stimulus for united action by the whole human race? The consideration of the Malthusian limit gives a clear and emphatic affirmative answer. The danger of overpopulation can be met only by a full understanding of the situation throughout the whole race, and thorough and intelligent co-operation of the whole race to control the forces of nature for the best good of the whole.

This requires complete change or essential modification in some of the beliefs and motives which have been for the advantage of smaller groups.

When a nation is constantly in danger of foreign invasion, or liable to be called upon at any time to wage war, the question of numbers is of the greatest importance. A nation or group is strong in proportion to the number of men that it can bring into the field. If there is room for expansion, that is, land still unoccupied that is adapted to the physical welfare of the people composing the nation, it is of the utmost importance for the nation to have men to take and hold possession of as much as possible of it and colonize it. Such has been the condition of practically all the Western nations since the dawn of history. It is therefore to be expected that every conservative person, which means every one who has

not studied thoughtfully the whole situation, will be loud in opposition to any change in this matter. That the time has come for such a change is, however, evident. There is now no more land in the temperate zone open to occupation, and the small changes which will take place hereafter will be insignificant. Something like two-thirds of the human race—those in Western Europe, India, China, and the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, are now using all their home supply of food, and many groups are importing it. The pressure of the cost and waste of war and of the state of readiness for it is becoming unbearable. Occasional voices are heard against the evils of overpopulation, and as was to be expected, bring forth hysterical shrieks from Mrs. Grundy and the clergy, and others of their state of intellectual development, against "race suicide." In opposition to this clamour a new school has arisen which finds favour with many of the best thinkers, with a new science, "eugenics," which emphasizes the value of quality in the human race, and opposes increase of numbers unless increase in ability goes with it.

CHAPTER XXII

A BASIS FOR UNIVERSAL ORGANIZATION

SUPPOSE the advocates of world peace could have their way. Suppose a dynamic majority could be assured in favour of an international court or commission to determine once for all the territory controlled by each of the independent nations, to be for ever after kept without dispute; an international tribunal of arbitration which should take the place of war, as courts in civilized countries take the place of the duel; combining of the present navies, so far as necessary, into an international ocean police; the reduction of armies to a militia for the keeping of internal order. Each nation then, being relieved of all anxiety as to keeping control of its territory, could give its whole attention to its internal problems and to its commercial relations to the rest of the world.

In view of the present rapid increase of the population of the world and the inevitable exhaustion of mineral deposits,¹ the most pressing question of each

¹ At the American Congress of Governors which took place while these lines were being written, it was stated by the best of authorities that the coal and iron of the country would be exhausted, at the present rate of consumption, before the time set for the Malthusian limit in the estimate quoted in the introduction.

country would be how to adjust its numbers to the food supply. There is no final safety unless each country or group feeds itself, or else finds itself in possession of inexhaustible resources in other lines which can be regularly exchanged for food with other groups which are willing to part with a portion of their share. Every country which does not now feed itself would be likely to embark at once, if it had not already taken steps in that direction, upon the practice of eugenics on the one hand and up-building of agriculture and land improvement on the other.

But military peace is only the first step. The densely populated countries are all in fierce competition for a market for their industrial products, which is another way of saying competition for the food supply of the agricultural countries. It is even maintained by some writers that it is impossible to do away with militarism until industrial peace is assured.

Now the object of industrial warfare is in the first place possession of the means of production, that is, the land, and in the second place of the goods produced. Its method is in general to save waste for one's self and the friendly group, and to cause waste for the competitor. As in military warfare, it is legitimate tactics to pit resources against each other, and if by sacrifice of part of one's own resources those of the competitor can be destroyed

entirely, this means a signal victory. Wherever two such groups are included in a larger, however, it is easily seen that such waste is greatly to the disadvantage of the larger whole, and it will be prevented if possible.

In the present historic period, for the first time in the history of the race, leading thinkers have come to understand this matter so that general discussion is possible, and action may be expected to follow which will lead to the recognition of the interest of the race as a whole in the question, and the prevention of competition between any groups which will lead to the waste of resources which ought to be conserved for the good of the whole race.

Now, waste in the broadest sense does not mean the destruction or loss of goods. That is of importance, because it has cost human effort to produce the goods. The general expression for waste is the useless expenditure of energy; that is, all goods produced that are not really needed represent waste; but the point where the new dispensation is most at variance with the present one is in the aspect of commerce—the transportation of goods.

The benefits of commerce have been dwelt upon by writers of all ages. It has been observed that the nations which have been intellectual leaders have always engaged in commerce, and commerce has been rightly believed to be responsible for their superior knowledge. The reason, however, is again

not economic, but pedagogical; it is not because they have handled so and so many tons of merchandise, but because this has compelled them to visit other lands and learn things that other men know which they never would have learned if they had stayed at home.

Unnecessary transportation of goods is always in itself a waste, and true economy calls for the consumption of all goods as near the place of production as possible. The movement of staple goods from one group to another in the same climatic and industrial condition, where they are or could be produced just as well, is probably the greatest waste of our present industrial system. Of course, some of this is due to unequal distribution of population; if all countries could feed themselves they would not be obliged to export other products to pay for their food. When a complete static condition becomes universal this difficulty will tend to disappear.

The ideal is to have the earth's surface divided into economic groups, delimited by natural conditions, as small as expedient for the best use of the means of production. Each group should in the main provide for all its wants, using what can be produced from its own resources to supply each want, rather than importing other products of similar nature. What seems to be a real necessity and cannot be produced must be imported, but adjustment for this should be carefully made, with con-

sideration of the greatest economy for the whole race.

Each group should have its numbers carefully regulated to the economic conditions; according to our main theory by establishing a certain number of fecund families in the most suitable parts of the territories. While the disadvantages of war and commerce should be universally recognized, and the waste they have caused avoided, their incidental advantages—race solidarity and diffusion of knowledge—should be also clearly recognized and measures taken to safeguard them and bring them to a still higher plane. In the static condition suggested, every advance in industry, science, or art, made in one group, is for the advantage of all groups, and should be made known to them as soon as possible. Rivalry in such lines would take place of the old international competition in war and commerce, and each group would be free to develop, according to the natural conditions, in racial characteristics, diet, dress, social and moral codes.

Each group would be fully informed by newspapers, books, pictures, and travel of the developments of the others, and any institution or industrial practice that seems to any group better than its own could be freely adopted. Individuals of groups allied in race might intermarry if desirable to improve the stock.

Interests affecting more than one of these unit

groups would be dealt with in co-operation, and those which extend to a continent or the whole earth would, of course, be subject to careful and thorough consideration. If, however, the one cardinal principle were established that each group should keep its numbers within the limits of its food supply, and in all other ways mind its own business, the amount of interests of a material nature which affect more than one group would be found surprisingly small. The chief matters affecting the world as a whole concern the dissemination of information, and the establishment of standards for this and other purposes; universal weights and measures, coinage, marine signals, language, calendar, copyrights, postal service, etc. Eliminate the governmental functions of providing for war and the collection of the customs which are the principal feature of the trade war between nations at present, and the present political divisions would become less important, and each natural group would be free to develop according to its own means. Once find bottom by providing some plan for universal peace, and there would be a reaction from the present tendency towards generalization in government, which is bewailed in many quarters as tending to crush individuality, towards more independence and self-development in race, family, and individual.

Of course, human progress must go on, as it always has done, building from existing conditions;

it must, therefore, work through the national organizations as they are, until something better can be found. Between the present condition and one of universal agreement is one more stage which would naturally be passed through, in going and coming, through universal regulation of the largest relations, to a freer individualism.

CHAPTER XXIII

CLIMATE AND RACE

THE earliest developments of a high civilization were in somewhat southern latitudes; but as soon as northern people acquired the arts of providing adequate clothing and housing, they began to outstrip their southern neighbours. Since the invention and general use of stoves, a severe climate seems to be no hindrance to the best human development, and the mere necessity for foresight and energy in providing against external conditions is an important educational factor. This has been fully recognized by many writers, but there is another important pedagogical factor in the northern winter which is not so well understood, and yet is perhaps more important.

It was remarked in Chapter II that mental habits depend very largely on physical habits. In northern latitudes, for a considerable part of the year, it is in the line of least resistance, when a person is out of doors, to be active rather than to keep still. Take the laziest darkey in Florida to Vermont, put him at a chopping-block on a winter's day, and he will

develop a good deal of energy. Now, when work is easier than idleness part of the year, and at no time is work impossible or difficult on account of temperature, and there are many other reasons for regular and systematic industry, habits for such industry are readily formed, and the denizen of such a region is naturally a more active and energetic person than one of a region where work is at all times a conscious effort against natural conditions. Men of the northern regions also average better physically than those of the south; they mature later and live longer, and their brain development is also on the whole better. The belt where the best work of the human race has been done for two thousand years is defined by the limit of marketable timber and the line where snow regularly falls in the winter. The middle line is the isotherm of 50° Fahrenheit or 10° Centigrade, and the outer lines are about 10° Centigrade on each side of this—from zero to 20° (32° to 68° Fahrenheit). On this line of 10° , or very near it, are almost all the greatest centres of modern civilization: London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Peking, Tokio, Chicago, and New York.

In many cases where there have been civilizations at all advanced nearer the equator, they have been in mountain regions where altitude gives a cooler climate, or have had such mountain regions as breeding places for some of their people. Of course, altitude can give a lower temperature as well as

latitude, but elevated regions in the tropics lack after all the educational feature of change of seasons.

This zone corresponds for the whole earth in a way to the yeoman class in a single country; and for similar pedagogical reasons: its conditions tend to develop a class of men better fitted physically, mentally, and morally to cope with difficulties in any sphere into which they may be thrown. It may be observed that in most cases in history where there has been a migration of the surplus population, it has gone southward; the tendency of migration is, other things being equal, toward a climate like the native one, but if accessible lands in such a climate are filled up, it will go to the climate nearest the native one, which, of course, is found in the land next south.

Now all the people whose character is formed in the isothermal zone mentioned should be able and intelligent people, capable of high civilization, though not all of them have made the greatest progress in this direction. However, none of them who have had the chances for education and development of civilization have failed to attain it. The oldest group in this respect is the Chinese, who are just beginning to be understood and appreciated by the Western world. The Germanic races in the time of Cæsar were at just about the same stage of social evolution as the North American Indians at the time of Columbus; the Germanic race has become one of

the foremost, and the Indians are showing themselves quite the intellectual equal of the white man when they have the chance.

In this zone lives at present the numerical majority of the human race; and the dynamic majority may almost be said to be within the central strip, a few degrees wide, containing the cities mentioned. Of course, there is a similar zone in the southern hemisphere, but it contains only a tenth the land area of the northern, and is so thinly settled at present that its numerical proportion is very slight.

This zone is practically divided among four races; there are minor strains, of course, which are rapidly being absorbed by the dominant races, such as the Kelts, Magyars, and the North American Indians.¹

¹ The history and relations of the Jewish race are strikingly interesting from the point of view of our theory. The Jews have practically left their original habitat, and found their homes among other races; yet, from their strict traditions as to intermarriage, they maintain their race identity. They have seldom obtained a foothold in such manner as to establish a yeomanry, but are as a rule city dwellers, and consequently capitalists or proletarians. The race has not increased in numbers to any great extent, in spite of its strong family traditions. The Jew is very intelligent, industrious, temperate in matters of appetite, and where he has opportunity, extremely prolific. Why does the race not increase in numbers? Our theory answers the question as a matter of course. There are more Jews among the Slav races than any other. Why? Because this is the chief place where they have practised agriculture for some generations. The Jew is increasing somewhat in some of the American cities. Why? Because those who immigrate are accustomed to a standard of living which, if practised in a country where the wages are high, enables them to support larger families; but some interesting figures lately published show that in a second generation, when they have become accustomed to a more costly

There are two divisions fully populated, with about equal numbers and equal territories: Western Europe, belonging to the Latin and Germanic races, and China (with which may be grouped Japan), belonging to the Mongolian race. The races of Western Europe are so alike in physical characteristics and traditions of civilization that all strains of them freely intermarry, and they can be practically regarded as one.

Then there are two more areas, also approximately equal in size, but much larger and much more thinly populated: the Russian Empire, belonging to the Slavs, and North America, chiefly Germanic.

Note the symmetry of the conditions: two groups with old civilizations,¹ relatively small in area, on

standard of living, they have fewer children than the races among whom they live.

When the final static condition is reached, the Jew is likely to be eliminated entirely unless he finds his way back to the land. This he can do by giving up his race exclusiveness and intermarrying with other races. This has been done with good results by some of the capitalist class; some of the leading families in New York to-day have Jewish blood. The Jew can give his high intelligence and other good qualities to the race in this way; or the other alternative is represented by the Zionist movement, which will establish the race as an economic group in a region of its own, which, of course, from all considerations of sentiment, should be Palestine. It is not very important for all mankind which of these ways is adopted, but it seems a pity that so capable a race should pass away by the process of proletarian elimination, and the Zionists deserve sympathy and help from all mankind in their efforts to preserve their race integrity.

¹ The Latin civilization, which dominates in Europe, goes back two thousand years, the Chinese much farther.

opposite sides of the earth. These are now populated up to the practical limit unless methods of production are improved. Two other groups with races cruder and younger in civilization,¹ with much larger territory and future possibilities, but still engaged in the task of developing their resources and populating their unused land, except in a small territory nearest their more populous neighbours.

These four groups together control the part of the world's surface where has always been and always must be the numerical and still more the dynamic majority of the world's people.²

If these four groups come to a full understanding and adopt a course of action, there is no other power which can oppose them with a shadow of effectiveness. Such an understanding is the next important step in human progress. When each of these groups is assured against military aggression from any of the others, each can be free to work out its own economic and social problems. These differ with the different groups.

The Mongolian group is ready to adopt the static

¹ The Germanic race can hardly call its life civilized for more than one thousand years, and the Russian civilization is still newer.

² The other four races, the Asiatic Aryans, the Semitic North Africans, the Negro, and the South American Indians, have less initiative and on the whole less general ability, though the two former are capable of high intellectual power; the future groups in the South Temperate zone are smaller (the Latins in South America have possibilities slightly larger than Western Europe, the Germanic group in Australasia about the same; that in South Africa, much less).

condition and confine its attention to internal problems. The thinking men of China fully recognize this. There is no "yellow peril" to the other groups. China has millions of square miles in the dependencies of the empire close at hand, and no possible chance for aggressive emigration to any other countries. China's attitude towards the increase of population must be conservative; most of the country would be better off if a complete static condition were established at once.¹

Further increase should go hand-in-hand with the development of agricultural methods and land improvement, and be kept intelligently within limits. The mistake of Japan in entering the field of aggressive industrialism should be avoided. Japan would also be wise, after she has made the most of Korea, to consider very seriously the question of a rational static system for her population.

The problem of those countries is simplified by the fact that the future of their people lies within their present territory; it is not desirable for them, nor for the rest of the world, that they establish fecund families among other races, or intermarry at the present stage of civilization.

The problems of Russia are also well defined and simple. She has an immense territory to develop,

¹ It seems likely that the Chinese and Japanese customs regarding family organization would allow a change to our two-class system much more readily than the European.

separated by natural barriers from other races, except at the extreme ends, where, of course, there must be a definite understanding, supported by the most powerful authority possible, to keep the boundaries inviolate. The rest of the world can let her alone for a century, and she has no reason for mingling in the affairs of any other nation. There is no emigration question between Russia and the rest of the world; she has no need to draw immigrants from without, nor to send any of her own people anywhere except to her own undeveloped territory.

The two other groups, however, are not so clearly distinct in their interests. They are related in race and tradition, and there is a constant emigration from the more densely populated one to the other. Still, North America is, so far as administration goes, in a simple condition as compared with Europe, in that it is dominated by one government which is on such friendly terms with the power controlling the rest of the temperate zone on the continent that there is no difficulty in handling problems affecting the whole.

The perplexing element in this group problem is Europe. It would be ideal if Europe, like China, were under one administration, if it would recognize the need for a static condition, and adjust its social and economic relations to such a condition as rapidly as possible. There is a very convenient safety-valve

to make this process easier, in the shape of emigration to America. During the century or so before America at the present rate will reach the density of population of Europe, wise statesmanship might go far towards adjusting matters for the ultimate static condition in both groups, by building up a yeomanry in Europe, the surplus of which can go to America as long as there is room, and be ready to adopt the two-class system when pressure comes. Denmark is doing good work in this line even now.

The immediate practical problem, however, is to bring about military and industrial peace within a group of countries thickly settled, highly intelligent, and rivals for the food supply in the world's market. If any of the other groups had been strong enough, or any combination of them were likely which would be strong enough, to conquer Western Europe, there would have been a motive in the usual historical course of national evolution, but this group is potentially so far superior to the others that this is impossible. The only motive which can bring them together is then the final one, the co-operation of the whole race to prevent waste and control the forces of Nature; and the practical question is whether Europe can be brought through this motive to recognize mutual interests and give up the present state of wasteful competition for the sake of the larger good.

The pretext for the extravagant navies of to-day

is that they are used as a "police power." This is largely fallacious, for a true police power is the representative of a supreme authority, which controls all alike; not coercion of weaker individuals by stronger, even though it be in the interests of the whole. If, however, there is no official authority, it is the duty of good citizens, not for each to go armed to the teeth and be ready for a quarrel at the drop of a handkerchief, but to organize a vigilance committee which alone shall have the privilege to bear arms, and which shall be strong enough to coerce any probable number of law-breakers. Of course, such a committee would control only the more populous part of the territory; in the outskirts every one must look out for himself.

There is a possible compromise in such a line which no one seems to have thought of, but is quite in line with progress toward order in the world which has already been made, and not too far from practical conditions to seem a thoroughly possible step. It is quite in fashion nowadays to neutralize a small country or body of water by convention among the powers that peace shall be guaranteed within its limits. Why not neutralize the North Atlantic Ocean? Let the nations bordering on it and its tributary waters declare that henceforth there shall be no naval warfare therein, discontinue their coast fortifications, combine their present fleets, or a majority contingent of them, into a real inter-

national police force, manned by international crews, and supported by the nations in co-operation, each contributing in proportion to its commercial interests, or in any other equitable way. Let the nations which have dependencies maintain what naval force they think necessary to keep order, but keep such vessels outside the neutral waters, except under a flag of truce. Such a move would be the greatest influence for peace that could be given to the world in the present generation. It would almost certainly be followed by a similar alliance for the Pacific, unless the nations bordering thereon should agree to dispense with navies altogether, calling on the Atlantic alliance for any police power necessary.

In fact, as soon as one begins to consider the possibilities of such an alliance the whole navy bugaboo falls to pieces. A battleship cannot be used for internal police purposes; and if an international navy exists, an individual nation has no more use for a warship than the resident of an orderly city has for a pistol in his pocket. And just as the citizen would prefer that the police should deal with a burglar in the citizen's own household, so a nation with dependencies would soon learn that it is economy to rely upon an international, rather than a private, navy for the rare cases in which it would be needed. With aerial navigation and wireless telegraphy it is impossible to build a vessel of any size in secret. Piracy is no longer possible. If by agreement with

a working majority of the world all ocean travel were under a guarantee of peace, backed by an international navy, this would be a solid foundation for the beginning of work leading towards a better direction of human effort and a truer national individualism within the race. The next steps to be taken, either consecutively or simultaneously, are reduction of land armaments and abolition of tariff warfare.¹

The difficulty here lies very largely with the Western European group. Russia and the United

¹ Protective tariffs are sometimes expedient under certain conditions, but in the same way that medicine sometimes is for the animal organism. When their effect has been obtained, the dose must be decreased or stopped entirely as soon as possible, or else the organism acquires a habit which is bad in the long run. The general effect of medicines is to stimulate, by drawing on the general vitality, some organ which is affected. This is true of protective tariffs in every case; at best strengthening one nation at the expense of others, but far too often giving one class within a nation advantages over the others which are to the disadvantage of the whole. The use made of tariffs by capitalists is notorious, but a still stronger objection, which is again pedagogical, and so lies deeper and has received very little notice, is that, as tariffs have been adjusted in the present age, they have as a rule encouraged manufactures at the expense of agriculture, and so tended to foster the capitalist-proletarian order of society, to the detriment of the yeomanry, and so towards deterioration of the race.

The industrial world of Europe to-day is in the condition of a man with a bad alcohol habit. Every new debauch is followed by a "katzenjammer," and there is danger of delirium tremens unless something is done in the direction of reform. It needs the wisest treatment by skilful experts; the average voter knows no more about the causes and effects of economic movements than about the causal relations between the horse-chestnut which he perhaps carries in his pocket and the rheumatism

States have little more in the way of land armies than they need for internal purposes. China has hardly enough. Russia and China can easily deal with the tariff question; the United States has been sinning unnecessarily in this respect and is now (1908) suffering from a very bad "katzenjammer," as well as an attack of jingoism. America has much of the enthusiasm of youth, and may make a hero for a time of a man whose emblem is the weapon of the cave-man; but Uncle Sam, though he is not so civilized as he thinks he is, is a pretty intelligent person, and has a sense of humour (which is at bottom a sense of the true proportion of things), and his second sober thought has often been surprisingly good.

CHAPTER XXIV

PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR INTERNATIONALISM

WHAT can bring Western Europe to give up internal rivalries and organize into one social and economic group, not for warfare against other race groups, but for co-operation with them against the common danger of overpopulation?

The area of Western Europe is a very good unit of comparison for certain groups delimited by physiographical and racial conditions, which are sure to be the basis of large human relations in the future.

There are in the zones of progressive humanity (page 194) three other such groups of about the same area; in China, South America, and Australia, and one in the more passive zone to the south, India. The two other northern groups, North America and Russia, have each about four such units of area; and it is possible that China may develop within the territory controlled by the empire enough land to double its possibilities.

All these groups may within a hundred years or so reach the density of population of Western Europe. With people evenly distributed over this

whole area it will be impossible for Europe to live as it does now, by industrialism, on imported food; and wisdom certainly dictates careful consideration of measures looking toward the establishment of a racial static condition against that time.

One perplexing problem is the predatory attitude of Europe toward the tropical countries. The Europeans want the commodities of the tropics, but they are not willing to get them as they do what they get from the other northern nations. They go to the tropics, take possession of the resources, and force the native to work for them in their way, instead of letting him work for himself in his own way and exchange products on a fair commercial basis.

The ideal for the static condition must, of course, include the tropical peoples as well as the others; each group should develop according to its own natural resources, climate, and surroundings. If the groups now populated up to the limit assume the static condition, with proper eugenics, they are sure to make great improvement in quality and so become still more the intellectual leaders; the other groups must look to them as examples in progress and education, and send to them young men to bring back the knowledge of their progress for their own people to apply to their own conditions. This is the true programme for the advancement of the "inferior" peoples, rather than the attempt of

missionaries to force upon the less-advanced peoples the institutions of the more advanced, without regard to their fitness for the conditions.

If China and Europe would establish the static condition, the Indo-Persian and Semitic races would be quick to learn from them, and the countries where none but the black man can live would follow at whatever distance is possible.

There is another possible programme, of wider scope, if we regard the whole world as one economic group with the fecund zone in the temperate zone. In that case some of the surplus of the cooler regions might be organized into an industrial army, and used as far as necessary in the tropics, somewhat as is done now in the management of tropical dependencies.¹

In any case it will be a long time before the inhabitants of the tropics are brought up to a standard of intelligence and industry, of the kind adapted

¹ An interesting thought here is a possible solution of the American negro problem by sending the surplus of the "Afro-Americans" who have had the benefit of contact with the more advanced civilization, back to Africa as leaders of their race there. There is a very strong tendency in the southern states of the Union to separate the races into territorial groups, which may be regarded as wholesome, for two races cannot live closely intermingled without friction, unless on terms of social equality. If we recognize and develop this tendency, give the negroes every chance to make the best of themselves and send their surplus, instead of to the proletarian class in the American cities, to form new fecund groups in carefully selected localities (avoiding the mistake in the case of Liberia) on the native continent of the race, this would be a great gain for all parties.

to their climate, which will make commercial relations between them and the people of the temperate zone satisfactory. Still, it seems that the results of commerce with the natives of the Amazon regions, where the question is one of trade with the natives for the product of their own native industries, are quite as good as those in Africa under "spheres of influence."

The chief difficulty in dealing with tropical countries independently has come from the attempt to introduce the capitalistic system of production, which is impossible there unless some method of compulsion can be brought to bear upon the labourers.

There is hope, too, in the results of education upon the tropical races in cases where they have had opportunities. It is not to be questioned that the Guinea negroes who formed the bulk of the slaves brought to America were, with few exceptions, on the lowest plane of social evolution and of mental endowment found among mankind. It is equally unquestionable that the condition of their descendants, after only three generations of contact with a higher civilization, is so far superior that we need not despair of bringing any group of human beings to a point where they can be economically useful to the rest of the world, and intelligent enough not to go backward in civilization.

As things are, none of the other northern groups have any relations of domination in tropical countries

which are necessary for the present economic situation. What North America has of this kind is very slight, concerning chiefly the overpopulated section on the North Atlantic, and largely a mere matter of sentiment arising from the "Monroe Doctrine." If Europe would take the lead in peaceful reciprocity of trade with the tropics, North America would be almost certain to follow without hesitation.

The hegemony of the Western European group is now at its zenith, and the relative importance of that group can go no farther. It has now a majority of the most intelligent and best educated people of the world.¹

This gives this group a tremendous dynamic majority in any question affecting world politics. If, however, the present rates of increase of population are kept up for fifty years, if China makes such intellectual progress as Japan has done within an equal period, and Russia develops a sound educational system, by that time Western Europe, which is now approaching the limit of population and general literacy, will be relatively unimportant, not only in numbers, but in intellectual leadership. North America and Russia will each have as many inhabi-

¹ Some recently published figures show that about 500,000,000, or just about one-third, of the people in the world, can read. Seventy per cent of these, or about one-fourth of the whole race, read the languages of Western Europe, and therefore there are only ten per cent of the whole who can be reached educationally by other than Western European traditions of learning.

tants as Western Europe. South America and Australia will be populous enough so that their influence will be felt, and China will play a part whose importance no one can now estimate. By the end of a second half-century Western Europe can hope for only one-twelfth of the people and influence in the temperate zones.

Now, in the normal course of history, if things go on as they have done, there would be group organization on the large lines of the race groups described, warfare between the groups, and only in this way, final unity of the race. If Western Europe insists on trying to maintain its supremacy and its domination of the tropics, this unity is bound to come only in such a way; but if Europe recognizes that it must play a losing game, and so throws its influence in the direction of peace, it is perhaps not too much to hope that a final adjustment may be reached without any more warfare. The question is whether the motive of the danger of the Malthusian limit can be brought to the consciousness of a dynamic majority in time to supersede the motive of the selfish interests of the final large race group of Western Europe.

A strong reason for hoping that the course of history may be changed and the intelligence of humanity aroused to the question is that it is now, for the first time in history, possible to bring a public matter before the minds of the whole race,

or a working majority of it, immediately. It is likely that an event of world-wide importance, such as the recent successes in aerial navigation, or the breaking out of a war, which appears in all the newspapers of the world, is really known to the numerical majority of the race within a month; and it is probable that it is known to the intelligent dynamic majority within twenty-four hours.

Such things are spectacular and easily understood; a more abstract question, like the one under consideration, which requires knowledge and judgment, cannot, of course, reach a numerical majority at all. Probably, as a matter of fact, if every human being now living were asked whether the earth is round or flat it would be found that a numerical majority believe it is flat. But those who know that it is round count for far more in making history.

If we can reach the foremost thinkers of the world and convince them of the truth of any proposition, it very soon reaches those of lesser knowledge, and may, within a generation, if important enough, prevail with the most conservative. Education is becoming general with a rapidity that is most hopeful; it is likely that within a few years a majority of the race will be able to read, and a much larger proportion than now will really have the reading habit, and use printed matter as a regular source of information, which is not the case with many who are counted as literate in the statistics of to-day.

Another hopeful sign of the times is that a real beginning has been made in doing certain public business which concerns the whole world. It is very interesting to note that this has generally been done in the manner pointed out as ideal; it has been done by authorized commissions which have met and transacted their business without pomp and circumstance in a purely businesslike way, and after their work was done have ceased to act. An international congress on copyright, postal matters, or navigation causes less expense than many a purely ceremonial affair at a second-rate monarchical court. Some of these international congresses show signs of establishing a regular meeting at stated intervals; it would not be a long step to a general representative body meeting at some regular time and place for the whole world.

The ideal of such a body would be, not representation of the political divisions as they exist to-day, but of the economic groups; and in proportion, not to their actual numbers, but to their dynamic importance as intellectual factors. If some way could be found to catalogue all the people in the world who have the actual reading habit, these would be qualified voters; and representation should be proportionate to the number of them in the group represented. Some approximation to this could be reached, of course, by using actual literacy as a practical test, and giving representation according to

the number of literates of a certain age (which ought to be higher than in most countries for local suffrage) in the present political divisions.

If such a body could be organized, its action, even if the matters were relatively unimportant and could be just as well settled by post and telegraph, would be a great educative factor in bringing about a race consciousness and the habit of doing business by and for the whole race.

The best form of procedure would probably be by three stages for each question; first, a clear understanding by the whole race that action is wanted, and that any of several possible ways of settling the question would be better than leaving it unsettled; second, a commission to find, with the best expert advice, what seems to be the best solution; third, voting on that proposition by the assembly, with the understanding that the different nations be asked to adopt in practice the method approved.

Probably the easiest question for such an action, among those now at hand, would be a universal money unit. No one will dispute the fact that such a unit is desirable, and that any reasonable universal standard would be better than the present variety. Suppose a congress met and spent most of the time of the first meeting on questions of organization, but passed the one resolution that a universal money unit is desirable, and appointed a commission to recommend one. This would cause discussion over the

whole world, and when the commission reported at the next meeting its findings would be practically sure of adoption.

At the next meeting, perhaps the chief new question might be whether we should have a universal calendar¹ or universal copyright; concentrating public opinion on one thing till every one has thought of it, and then dealing with it.

In due time the question of world peace would be the one for consideration, and there is great hope that the world will soon be ready for action in its favour.

Of course, the resolutions of such an assembly could not be made binding upon nations which would not accept them. But on questions like coinage and the calendar there would be practical unanimity, and if the habit were formed by taking up such questions

¹ The matter of a universal calendar is a very attractive one for advocates of "the brotherhood of man," and some of the Socialists have already hit upon it. If a universal calendar is adopted, it will mean that every division of the race is so far advanced as to be willing to give up, for the benefit of mankind, certain very inveterate habits, often founded on religious tradition, which is most obstinate of all. No calendar now in use is so perfect as one which could be devised; so that a commission would probably make a report which would require all calendars now in use to be replaced. But this would settle the matter for all ages, and the mere fact of the adoption of such a new calendar by the whole race would fix a new era, which could never be superseded, for it would be really the most important event which could take place in the history of mankind: the recognition of a full understanding of the necessity for co-operation, and a self-sacrifice, no matter how insignificant in amount, for the general good by all divisions of the human race.

first, the assembly would come to have increased authority.

It may be that there would never need to be an executive department for world government. If the resolutions of an assembly were not so evidently deserving of acceptance that the whole race agreed, it would not be worth while to attempt to enforce them. It will not do to say to one's fellow-man "*Sois mon frère, ou je te tue.*" That mistake has been made too often. Only when all are informed and all can agree can real human progress be made; and the programme is always the same: patience and more education.



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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
General Literature . . .	2	Little Quarto Shakespeare .	19
Ancient Cities. . . .	12	Miniature Library . . .	19
Antiquary's Books. . .	13	New Library of Medicine .	19
Arden Shakespeare . . .	13	New Library of Music . .	20
Classics of Art	14	Oxford Biographies . . .	20
Complete Series	14	Romantic History	20
Connoisseur's Library . .	14	States of Italy	20
Handbooks of English Church		Westminster Commentaries	21
History	15	Shilling Library	21
Handbooks of Theology . .	15	Fiction	21
Illustrated Pocket Library of		Two-Shilling Novels . . .	25
Plain and Coloured Books	15	Books for Boys and Girls .	26
Leaders of Religion . . .	16	Shilling Novels	26
Library of Devotion . . .	16	Novels of Alexandre Dumas	27
Little Books on Art . . .	17	Sixpenny Books	27
Little Galleries	17	Books for Travellers . . .	30
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